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HISTORY

OF

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Written in Italian by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of Florence.

IN TWENTY BOOK'S.

Translated into ENGLISH by the

Chevalier Austin PARKE GODDARD,

Knight of the Military Order of St. Stephen.

VOL. II.

Containing the THIRD and FOURTH BOOK of the History.

L O N D O N:
Printed by John Towers, in Piccadilly.
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HISTORY

Francesco Guicciardini,

A SENATOR of Florence,

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The WARS in ITALY.

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THE CONTENTS.

The Venetians give Affiftance to the Pifans. Preparations in France for another Expedition into Italy. Quarrels between the Guelf and Ghibelline Parties. Maximilian Cæsar invited into Italy by the Duke of Milan. The Death of Ferdinando King of Naples. The War between the Pope and the Orfini. A Plot of Piero de Medici defeated. The Execution of Savonarola.

*** HE dishonourable Return of A. D. To the French King to the other 1495. sing fide of the Alps, tho' it had proceeded rather from Indifcretion and A 2 ill4

ill-weighed Counfels, than from Pufillanimity, or Weakness of his Forces, gave great Hopes to the People, that Italy would be restored to its pristine Tranquillity, and intirely freed from the infolent Dominion of the French. The Conduct of the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan's Resolution and Wisdom were cried up to the Skies. Every one allowed, that it was through their Means so fine a Country had narrowly escaped being enflaved by Foreigners. The People's Expectations of a lasting Prosperity were justly grounded; but their Deliverers, blinded by ambitious Views, and which in the End proved hurtful to themselves, infamously facrificed the Public Good to Private Interest, and instead of confirming and establishing by their Counsels and Arms the peaceable Prospect they had procured, made use of their Power to bring farther Calamities on their Country. Ambition, which would not fuffer them to remain contented within their proper Bounds, foon threw every thing again into Confusion, and prevented their reaping the Fruits of a Victory they had afterwards

THE WARS IN ITALY.

wards obtained against the French who A. D. were left in the Kingdom of Naples: A Victory made easy, through the Negligence of Charles, and the Weakness of his Counsels; for his Army was not supplied with Provisions, and was disappointed of the Succours promised by the Florentines.

Lopovico laid no Strefs on this Peace; he well knew how he had offended the King, and that the nature of his Offence was fuch, that he should never be forgiven. It had been purely out of a Defire of recovering Novara, and freeing his own Territory from the French, that he had been induced to promise what he never intended to perform; nor is there any Reason to doubt but that the Venetians gave their Confent to this Peace, only because it relieved them from the immense Expence they were at in the Novarese. However Lodovico did not think proper as yet to declare his Mind, but wait till a feafonable Opportunity offered; and therefore fulfilled all those Articles of the Capitulation, which might be faid to be

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A. D. in his immediate Power to comply with: He gave Hostages, set the Prisoners at Liberty, paying their Ransom to the Captors with his own Money, restored the Ships taken at Rapalle, removed Fracassa from Pisa, as he could no longer conceal his acting there under his Direction; and within the Month delivered the Castelletto of Genoa to the Duke of Ferrara, who went in Person to receive it. But on the other hand, he left Lucio Malvezzo in Pife with a good Body of Troops, pretending he was in the Genoese Pay, and permitted two armed Vessels to sail from Genoa to Naples for Ferdinando's Service; excusing himself, that they were equipped before the Peace, and that now he had not a fufficient Power to hinder the Genoese from taking their own Courfe: He also secretly persuaded them not to fend the Hostages. But what mostly contributed to the Loss of the Castles of Naples, was the Delay which he artfully procured to be made in fending out the Six Ships which were destined for their Succour. For as foon as the King had armed his Four Ships, and Lodovico

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THE WARS IN ITALY.

the Two he had engaged for, he prevailed on the Genoese to pretend to be alarmed, and oppose their being manned with French Soldiers, unless the King would give Security, that the Ships should be restored them, and that they should not be employed against themselves. Charles made heavy Complaints to Lodovico of these Proceedings: His Answer was, that he had fulfilled his Engagement by arming his Two Vessels, for no mention was then made that French Troops were to be put on board them; and as the Command he had in Genoa was not absolute, but limited, it was not in his Power to oblige the Genoese to act in every thing as he pleafed; and more especially in what they pretended had an immediate Tendency to endanger their Liberties and Safety. To give a greater Force to these Excuses, he prevailed on the Pope to order the Genoese and himself, under Pain of Excommunication, not to let any armed Veffel belonging to the French go out of the Port of Genoa. These were the Means by which the French in Naples were frustrated of their chief Succour.

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to the had engaged out to he her bad out Lopovico obstructed likewise the Affistance they expected from the Florentines, both of Men and Money; for as foon as the Treaty before-mentioned was figned at Turin, Guido Antonio Vespucci one of the Florentine Ambassadors, set out with all Expedition with the Articles; but in passing through the Dutchy of Milan, where he imagined himself secure, as his Masters had been neuter, he was stopped by the Duke's Order at Alexandria, rifled of all his Papers, and brought to Milan. At the Time the French quitted Pisa, the Pisans had sent to the Venetians and the Duke of Milan to implore their Affistance, and now, with the Approbation of all the Ministers of the Allies, they came to a Resolution, not to suffer Pisa to fall into the Hands of the Florentines; for on Perusal of the Turin Treaty, they found, that as foon as Pisa and its Territory were reduced, the Florentines engaged to provide the French in the Kingdom of Naples with Men and Money. They were all apprehensive that the Florentines would become too powerful with

THE WARS IN ITALY.

with the Acquisition of Pisa, and that A. D. their Union with France, when they were disengaged from a Pisan War, might endanger the Liberties of Italy.

Bur the principal View, both of the Venetians and Lodovico, was to get Pifa into their own Possession. The last had long fince a Defign on that State; and the Venetians, at the Dissolution of the formidable League made against them, began to entertain Thoughts and Hopes of making themselves Sovereigns of Italy, and imagined Pisa a very proper Place to begin with, on account of the Conveniency of the Haven of Livorno, which they knew could not be long preserved by the Florentines, unless they were Masters of Pisa; and this Port would give them the Command of the Mediterranean, and the City of Pisa an easy Inlet into Tuscany.

But the Duke of Milan was beforehand with them, and at the very Time he was amusing the Florentines with vain Hopes of his Concurrence into their Measures, who had an Estate in the Pisan, to go thither under a Pretence of looking after his Affairs; and from Genoa he sent a fresh Supply of Troops.

THE Pisans were likewise sed with Hopes by the Venetians, who dispatched one of their Secretaries to Genoa, to intreat that Republic not to abandon the Pisans, and to levy Men: But they proceeded very slow in sending them, thinking, perhaps, that whilst the Citadel was in Possession of the French, who were still in Piedmont, there was no great Foundation to be laid on their Project.

As foon as the Florentines had heard of the Treaty being figned at Turin, they augmented their Forces, to be in a Condition of obliging the Pisans to comply immediately with the King's Orders when the Treaty should arrive; which being retarded by the Seizure of their Ambassador, they were determined to lose no Time, but took the Castle of Palaia, and then encamped before Vico Pisano. But either through

through Misconduct, or for want of a fufficient Force to act on the Side of Pifa, where the Pifans had erected a Fort, they miscarried in the Siege of this Place. They invested it from Bientina, from whence they could do little Damage, for the Town kept an open Communication with Pifa and Cascina. Another Cause of their ill Success was owing to Pagolo Vitelli, who, after receiving Three Thoufand Ducats from the Pifans, entered Vice with his own and his Brother's Regiment, pretending to have received Letters from the King, and from the General of Languedoc (Brother to the Cardinal of St. Malo) who lay fick at Pietra Santa, to protect Pisa and its Territory till he received contrary Orders. It appeared very furprifing, that the Pifans should be protected by the French and Milanese Forces at the same Time, and be also encouraged by the Venetians, whilft that Senate and the Duke of Milan were in open War with the King of France. Vitelli's Reinforcement secured the Town, and the Artillery did fuch Execution amongst the Florentines, who

lay in the open Field without Entrench-1. D. ments, that in a few Days they were obliged to raise the Siege with no small Loss of their Credit.

Ligarno the Florentines.

In the mean time the Treaty of Turin reftored to arrived, Duplicates of which had been fecretly fent by different Roads; in consequence thereof, Saillant the Lieutenant-Governor of Liverno under Beaument, who had been placed there by the King, configned that Port, Town, and Castle to the Florentines; and Monf. De l'Isle, the Commissary appointed to receive the Ratification of the Turin Treaty, began to confult with Entragues the Governor of the Citadel of Pifa, Pietra Santa, and Murone about the Manner and Time of their Delivery. But the Governor raised various Difficulties, either because the Pifans had gained his Affection, as they had in general that of all the French; or that he had received fecret Orders from Ligni, whose Creature he was, and to whom he was indebted for the Post he held; or from an Affection he bore to the Daughter of Luca di Lante, a Citizen of

1495.

of Pisa; for it was not likely that he should have been bribed by the Pisans at a Time they would have been out-bid by the Florentines. Sometimes he would give a strained Construction to the King's Letter; then pretended to have secret Orders not to make any Innovation until he received a private Token from Ligni. This Wrangling lasted several Days, until at last the Florentines were obliged to send to the King, who was still at Vercelli, to desire he would put an End to an Affair that was both injurious to them, and very much to his Majesty's Discredit.

The King was exceeding angry at Entragues's Disobedience, and, with no small Resentment, ordered Ligni to make his Intentions known to him, and see them carried into Execution. He intended to send a Person of Note with these fresh Orders, and a pressing Letter from the Duke of Orleans, who was Entragues's Liege-Lord. But Ligni's Authority and Obstinacy got the better of the King. His Dispatches were detained some Days, and then were not carried by a Person of Distinction.

A. D.

Distinction, but by Lancepugne, a private Gentleman. Camillo Vitelli fet out with him, who was commissioned to receive the Money stipulated by the Florentines, and proceed directly to Naples with his Regiment, which, on the first Notice of the Treaty of Turin, had quitted the Pifans, and joined the Florentines.

This Western to tell to the Days Will's

King's Orders.

Entragues THESE Dispatches had no better Effect refuses to obey the than the former, altho the Florentines had given Entragues Two Thousand Ducats for the Subfistance of his Troops till the King's Answer arrived. Camillo got also a Present of Three Thousand Ducats: without which he would have prevented the Delivery of the King's Letters. Entragues, by his manner of acting, was fupposed to have received, by some bye Way, contrary Directions from Ligni; for after feveral Days wrangling with the Florentine Commissaries, he thought of gaining his Point, without seeming to refuse obeying the King's Commands. The Suburb of St. Marco leads to the Florentine Gate, which is contiguous to the Citadel, and the Pisans, with the Governor's Governor's Permission, had erected a Fort A. D. at the Entrance of this Suburb. They had, besides their Townsmen and a vast number of Peasants, a Thousand Foreign Troops in their Pay; which made Entragues imagine them strong enough to repel the Florentines from the Fort: On this Supposition he sent to the Flo- Invites rentine Commissaries, to let them know rentines to they might come up to the Florentine attack Gate with their Army, and take Possession of Pifa; for if the Pifans offered to make any Resistance, he was determined to fire on them from the Citadel. The Florentines gladly embraced the Invitation, and advanced from their Camp at San Remidio, which was not far from the above-mentioned Fort; and being informed by Pagola Vitelli of the Disposition of the Enemies Works, they affaulted the Fort in Three different Places with fuch Vigour, that they foon put the Pifans to Flight, purfued them, and entered pelmel with them over the Draw-Bridge into the Suburb, killing and making Prisoners all they overtook; and they expected that Instant to perfect the Conquest of Pifa, feveral

A. D. feveral of their Men at Arms having got through the Gate into the Town without meeting with any Opposition. But Entragues finding Things go contrary to his Wishes and Intention, ordered the Can-Entragues non of the Citadel to fire on the Florentines. They, amazed at the Treachery, fires on the Floafter many of their Men had been killed, rentines. and more wounded, (and amongst the last Pagolo Vitelli in his Leg) despairing to take the Town while the Citadel opposed them, beat a Retreat. For a few Days they kept Possession of the Suburb, but not being able to withstand the Force of the Artillery that continually played upon them, were obliged at last to abandon it, and retire to Cascina, intending to wait there till the King should be apprifed of these extraordinary Pro-

ceedings.

THE Florentines in the mean time had many other Difficulties to struggle with: The Colleagues were jealous of their becoming again Masters of Pisa, and of their Alliance with France, and therefore encouraged Piero de Medici to get himfelf

THE WARS IN ITALY:

self restored into Florence, with the Help A. D. of Virginio Orfini, who had escaped from the French the Day of the Battle of the Piero de Taro, and was retired to Bracciano. Medici en-They were both eafily perfuaded, for couraged by the Virginio, let the Event be what it would, Allies to had an Opportunity, at his Friends Ex-return to pence, of getting together his Partifans

confiderable: And Piero, as it is customary for Fugitives to embrace all offers, imagined the Party attached to his Family, which for a great Number of Years had lived with fo much Grandeur in the State of Florence, was numerous and strong, and the new popular Government fo odious to many of the Nobility, that he could not fail of Success.

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and old Soldiers, which would make him

IT was thought this Treaty had its Rise in Milan, for when Virginio made his Escape, he went directly to that Duke; but it was perfected in Rome by the Pope, the Venetian Ambassador, and Cardinal Ascanio, who acted by Lodovico's Direction. The Grounds Piero went upon were these; he had amassed together, what with his

own

A. D. own and Friends Money, Ten Thousand Ducats; and besides the Assistance of Virginio, Giovanni Bentivoglio, who received an annual Subfidy from the Venetians and the Duke, was to attack the Florentines on the Side of Bologna, whilst Caterina Sforza, whose Children were in Lodovico's Army, was to molest them from Imola and Forli, which borders on their Dominions. There was also good Reason to think that the Senese would join them from their inveterate Hatred to the Florentines, and also in Hopes of preferving Montepulciano, which they knew they could not do with their own Force; for they had lately experienced, that even with the Affistance of the Lord of Piombino and Gio. Savelli, they had not been able to get Possession of the Pass of the Chiane, which lies in the Marshes on the Borders of their Dominions. In order to obtain it, the Senese, a few Months before, were building a Fort near the Bridge of Valiano, which would have commanded another Fort of the Enemy that faced Montipulciano; but the Florentines being . fenfible, that whilst the Senese were in Poffession

Possession of that Bridge, they should not do not be deprived of the Means of molesting Montepulciano, but should also leave an Inlet into Cortona, Arezzo, and other Parts of their Dominions, they sent a Body of Troops and destroyed the Fort that was building, and erected another themselves, large enough to contain a sufficient Garrison, and from thence made Excursions all over that Neighbourhood, and near Montepulciano broke Giovanni Savelli's Regiment, and took him Prisoner.

VIRGINIO and Piero expected also some Help from Perugia, not only because the Baglioni, who dispotically governed that City, were related to Virginio; but as they were of the Guelph Party, they had ever been in Amity with the Medici Family: Besides, both Lorenzo and Piero in his Prosperity, had never neglected any Opportunity of assisting them against their Enemies. Perugia was subject to the Holy See, but rather so in Appearance than in Esset; yet as the assisting Piero seemed no ways to interfere with the Government of their City, it was thought B 2

A. D. the Perugians could not well deny the 1495. Pope's Request in Favour of Piero, especially as it was backed by the Venetians and Duke of Milan.

On these Grounds Piero and Virginio fet out from the Roman Territory, in great hopes that the Florentines, divided amongst themselves, and alarmed at their being attacked by fo many of their Neighbours, acting under the Authority of the Allies, would not be able to refift. After halting a few Days about Terni and Todi, where Virginio collected Money and Men from his Friends the Guelfs, and humbled, at the same Time, the Ghibellines, they lay fiege to Gualdo to gratify the Perugians, who had lately bought it of the Pope for Six Thousand Ducats, but by the Community of Foligno were not permitted to take Possession of it *. This Affair put in Motion all the Inhabitants of that District; not so much for the Importance that Gualdo was to any Party, but because

^{*} Foligno is a City at a small Distance from Perugia, where the Merchants deal more largely with England for Woollen Goods than those of any other Inland Town in Italy.

A. D. 1495.

it administred an Occasion for Contention. The Baglioni in Perugia had got the better of, and expelled the Oddi, who were at the Head of the opposite Faction; these, accompanied by some Horse and Foot of the Ghibellines of Foligno, Assis, and other Villages, had possessed themselves of Corciano, a strong Place within Five Miles of Perugia, and the Guelfs of Spoletto Camerino, and all the Neighbourhood rose in Favour of the Baglioni: But the Oddi found Means one Night of getting into Perugia, and fo alarmed their Enemies, that they despaired of defending themselves, and began to retire: But, a fudden and trivial Accident deprived the Oddi of a Victory, which the Power of their Enemies could not have done; for after they had got to the Top of the Street that leads into the principal Square, one of their Party, not being able for the Crowd of his Companions about him, to cut the Chain that went across the Street, with an Axe he had brought with him for that Purpose, cried out aloud, Keep back, keep back! Those behind taking his Words for an Order, repeated them from

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A. D.

one to another, and in an Instant they all fled, without knowing wherefore. The Guelfs took the Advantage of this Confufion, followed them, killed feveral, and took Prisoner Troilo Savelli, a Nobleman fent thither by the Cardinal of that Name, who was a violent Ghibelline: They foon expelled the Oddi from Corciano, and not fatiated with the Numbers they had killed, they brought feveral to Perugia, and hanged them with that Cruelty, fo common amongst Factions when any one Side gets the better. This Affair occasioned feveral Maffacres in other neighbouring Towns and Villages, that took up Arms, and the Party which proved the strongest, either out of a Spirit of Revenge, or Fear of being, at some other Time, surprised themselves, put great Numbers to Death. The Perugians, who had before befieged Gualdo, and been repulsed in an Assault they had given, now joined Virginio, who imagined the News of fo many Forces united, would draw People together in hopes of Plunder; and, at the fame Time, give him an Opportunity of augmenting his Army.

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A. D.

BUT the Perugians, notwithstanding, their Obligations to Piero and Virginio, refused to declare in their Favour, or to lend them a few Pieces of Artillery; nor would they permit them to quarter their Men in Castiglione del Lago, that bordered on the Cortonese, nor even let them provide themselves with Provisions in their Territory, altho' Cardinal Ascanio pressed them to it in Lodovico's Name, and the Pope commanded it with threatning Briefs. The Reason was, that after the Perugians had taken Corciano, the Florentines supplied them with some Money, affigned Penfions to Guido and Ridolfo, two of the chief Heads of the Baglioni, and had taken Gianpagolo, Ridolfo's Son, into their Pay. Besides, they knew the Pope protected their Adversaries, and had Reason to suspect he designed subjecting their City to the despotic Government of the Holy See.

In the mean time Pagolo Orsini, who a Plot had been at Montepulciano, and was now against at Pieve with Virginio's best Men at Arms,

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A. D. was commissioned by Piero to treat with the City of Cortona, and to dispose the Citizens to furrender to him their Town when the Army approached, which neither in Number or Bravery was any way equal to what had been expected. This Treaty was discovered to the Florentines by a mean Fugitive, which both leffened Piero's Hopes, and put him under greater Difficulties; for the Florentines detached immediately Two Hundred Men at Arms and a Thousand Foot from their Camp at Pifa, (where there still remained Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thoufand Foot) and fent them to Cortona, under the Command of Count Rinnuccio Marciano. Next, to prevent the Senese from joining Virginio, as they were informed was their Defign, they ordered Three Hundred Men at Arms and Fifteen Hundred Foot to advance to Poggio Imperiale under Guido Ubaldo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, whom they had lately taken into their Pay; and to fill Sienna with greater Terror, they fent with him all the discontented and outlawed Senese, who were numerous.

VIRGINIO,

Virginio, after giving several Assaults A. D. to Gualdo, in one of which Charles, his natural Son, was wounded, bribed, as virginio was thought, by those of Foligno, de-raises the camped without making any Terms in Siege of Gualdo. Favour of the Perugians, and marched first to Tavernelle and then to Panicale in the Territory of Perugia, from whence he sent to the Perugians, insisting they should declare against the Florentines, which they not only refused, but, exasperated at his late Behaviour at Gualdo, with Threats, in a manner, obliged him to quit their Territory.

PIERO and Virginio, with Four Hundred Horse, advanced to Orsaia * near Cortona, in hopes, that as that City (not willing to be burthened with Soldiers) had refused to admit the Florentine Men at Arms, it might declare in their Favour. But when they found themselves mistaken,

^{*} Orsaia, more properly Osseia, from the Quantity of Bones that are found there; it being the Place called Trasimene, now the Lake of Perugia, where Hannibal gained a signal Battle over the Romans. At a small Distance there is a River or Torrent, called Sanguineto, from a Report of its having ran Elood the Day of the Battle.

dred Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot, that were in a bad Condition, as having been inlisted in a Hurry, and with little Money. They posted themselves in the Senese near Montepulciano, between Chianciano, Torrila, and Afina Lunga, where, excepting a few Excursions to procure Provisions, they remained some Days inactive: For the Florentines had passed the Chiane at the Bridge of Valiano, and formed a Camp in their Front in the Neighbourhood of San Sovino.

Bentivogetio declines joining Piero.

In Bologna no regard was paid to what had been promised; for Bentivoglio was determined not to undertake a dangerous War with a neighbouring and powerful Republic to serve other People's Purposes: Yet he received Giuliano de Medici with great Demonstrations of Civility, who was come thither to enlist Men: Nor did he prevent him from treating with his Mountaineers, who were used to serve under the Family of the Medici; but he alledged divers Excuses

cuses to the Confederates for his Delays d. D. in engaging openly himself.

THE Allies, indeed, were not intirely of the same Mind; for the Duke of Milan, altho' pleased that the Florentines should be so employed, as not to have it in their Power to conquer Pisa, yet he no ways wished that Piero de Medici, whom he had so much injured, should return to Florence; notwithstanding that Piero, to convince him that he intended to be intirely directed by his Counfels, had fent his Brother the Cardinal to Milan. As for the Venetians, they did not chuse to enter into this War without the Duke; besides, the principal Care of both, at this Juncture, was in providing all Necessaries for expelling the Remainder of the French out of the Kingdom of Naples.

By these means Piero and Virginio frustrated of all their Hopes, in extreme want of Money, and finding their Forces daily diminish, were obliged to retire to Rapolano in the Territory of Chinfi, belonging

A. D. longing to Siena. Here, as Virginio's Destiny would have it, came to him Camillo Vitelli, who was fent by the King Virginio goes into of France to take him into the French the French Service, and conduct him into the King-Service. dom of Naples; where, after the Defertion of the Colonnas, his Majesty thought he would be of great Service to his Cause. Virginio's Friends did their utmost to diffuade him from accepting this Commission, and pressed him to join the Confederates, who made him great Offers: or that he would at least return into the Service of the Arragonians: But he was determined otherwise, either because he hoped, that thro' the French Interest Albi and Tagliacozzo would be restored him; or because he saw the Colonnas in so high Favour, that he despaired of making any Figure at Ferdinando's Court: Or, if we believe the Reason he gave himself, that he was very much diffatisfied with the Confederates for failing in their Engagements for the Restoration of Piero de Medici, he agreed

> then with the King, who assigned the Orsini Family Six Hundred Men at Arms; but

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on Condition he sent his Son Charles as 4. D. Hostage into France: Such Hardships 1495.

may be reasonably expected by those who have rendered their Conduct suspicious, and once broke their Faith. He was supplied with Money, and then applied himself seriously to be ready to enter, in Conjunction with Vitelli's Troops, into the Kingdom of Naples; where, before and after the Loss of the Castles, there had been many Insurrections, attended with various Accidents.

We left Ferdinando fronting the Enemy Ferdinanin the Plains of Sarni; but the French, do loses
on his Arrival, retired to Piedigrotta, and at Gisone.
stopped at Nocera, Four Miles from
Sarni. Both Armies being pretty equal,
the Time was spent in Skirmishes, without
any thing of Moment happening, excepting that Seven Hundred of Ferdinando's Men, between Horse and Foot,
were either killed or taken Prisoners at
Gisone, a Castle near San Severino; to
which Place they had been decoyed by repeated Assurances (as they imagined) from

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. the Garrison, that on their Arrival it

Nocera AFTER this Action the Pope's Troops taken by joined Ferdinando, which made him futhe Arra gonians. perior to the French, who thereupon quitted Nocera, which, with the Citadel, was soon taken by the Arragonians, and great Slaughter was made of those of the French Faction.

In the mean time Monpensier had provided with Horses and all Accoutrements those Troops he had brought with him from Castelnuovo; and joining these to other Forces, he proceeded to Ariano, a Village well furnished with Provisions. Ferdinando, by this Junction, was become inferior to the Enemy, and therefore halted at Montefuscoli, with an Intent to be on the Defensive, and not tempt Fortune, until he was better supplied by his Allies. Monpenfier made himself Master of the Town and Fortress of San Severino: and might with Ease have made greater Progress, if his Money had not failed him: For there was none fent from France, and

San Severino taken.

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A. D. 1495.

he had no Means of collecting any in the Country. This made his Soldiers uneasy, particularly the Swis; and was the Occasion that he could not make a proper Use of his Forces.

THREE Months passed in this Inactivity, whilft Don Federigo, with Cafar of Arragon, made War in Puglia with the Help of the Country People; against them made Head the Barons, and those who were inclined to the French: In Abruzzo Gratiano di Guerra very gallantly defended himself against Count Pepoli and other Barons, Friends to Ferdinando: The Prefect of Rome, who had the Command of Two Hundred Men at Arms, made Excursions from his own Territories on Montecafino and its Neighbourhood, where the French Affairs began to decline on account of the long Sickness of Aubigny, which interrupted the Course of his Victories: But the best part of Calabria and of the Principato were in the French Interest. Gonfalvo got together the Spaniards, and the Friends of the Arragonians, who, after the Reduction of Naples, were become

A. D. become numerous, took several Villages, and kept alive in that Province Ferdinando's Name. Here, also, the French were put to Difficulties for want of Money; yet they recovered and pillaged the City of Cosenza, that had rebelled.

In all this Distress and Danger, there appeared no likelihood of any Assistance from France: For the King stopped at Lyons, where he gave himself up to Tournaments, and all sorts of Diversions, without any Concern about the War. He constantly gave out, that he would provide for Italy; but, in Reality, made no sort of Preparation.

Argenton returns from his Embassy.

ABOUT this Time Argenton returned from his Embassy at Venice with that Senate's Answer. They declared they had no sort of Quarrel with his Majesty; that they took up Arms, indeed, when he had got Possession of Novara, but that was purely in Defence of the Duke of Milan, their Ally; that therefore they thought it needless to consirm their antient Friendship with a new Peace; especially

as the King knew they had privately A. D. acquainted him how they were disposed to perfuade Ferdinando to give him a large Sum of Money, to pay him a yearly. Tribute of Fifty Thousand Ducats, and to leave Taranto in his Hands for a certain Time as a Pledge, if he would quit his Pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples: But Charles, as if he had been at the Head of a powerful Army, refused their Offers, altho', besides the Difficulties of Italy, he had great Reason to fear he should be attacked on the Borders of his own Kingdom; for Ferdinando King of Spain was come in Person to Perpignan, from King of whence he ordered feveral Excursions to Spain at be made into Languedoc, where a great deal Perpignan of Damage was done, and more was expected. At the same Time died the Dauphin, the King's only Son. Had Death of Charles been capable of making a wife phin. Election of War or Peace, all these Difasters might have inclined him to condescend to a reasonable Accommodation.

At the latter End of this Year Entragues put an End to all farther Disputes

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A. D.

with the French concerning the Citadel of Pifa; for the King being informed of the Commander's Obstinacy, sent Mons. Gemel with Threats and a positive Command, not only to him, but to the rest of his Governors, to comply with his former Orders. Soon after he dispatched Mons. Bonne, Brother-in-Law to Entragues, that he might have no farther Pretence to cavil about the King's Intentions: He was commissioned to tell him, that all his past Disobedience should be forgiven on his immediate Compliance; and to threaten him with the Effects of his Majesty's Anger if he refused. But nothing could remove Entragues from his first Resolution; he made slight of the Message brought him by Gemel; who, after waiting some Days, according to his Instructions, went on with Camillo Vitelli to Virginio Orfini. Neither had the Arrival of Bonne, who had been detained feveral Days, by Lodovico's Orders, at Sarzana, any better Effect: On the contrary, Entragues brought him over to his own Sentiments; and thro' the Means of Lucio Malvezzi, Agent to Lodovico, he

he made a Contract with the Pifans; by A. D. Virtue of which he delivered them up their Citadel the First Day of the Year Entragues 1496, for Twenty Thousand Ducats; delivers Twelve Thousand he took to his own the Cita-Share, and the Remainder was divided Pifans. amongst the French Troops. The Pisans were not in a Condition to lay down this Money; on the contrary, they could not levy in their State a Sum sufficient for their own Occurrences: But, not to lose fo fair an Opportunity, they found Means to get Four Thousand Ducats of the Venetians, Four Thousand of the Genoese and Luchefe, and Four Thousand of Lodovico; who, at the fame time, was acting a treacherous part with the Florentines; making them believe he was defirous of entering into a folid Peace and Unity with them; and had actually agreed with their Ambassador on the Terms.

It was not thought likely that Ligni and Entragues could have acted in this manner without the King's private Order; especially as their Proceedings were palpably against the French Interest: For althor

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A. D. in the Capitulation it was stipulated, that Pisa should be subject to France, yet it was evident it remained now at the Devotion of the Confederates: Moreover, the Restitution of it to the Florentines taking Effect, the French in the Kingdom of Naples were deprived of that Succour, both of Men and Money, which had been agreed on at the Treaty of Turin. Yet the Florentines, who were very watchful and attentive to all that passed, tho' at first they suspected the King's Faith, were at last fully perfuaded of the Sincerity of his Intentions; which, indeed, would feem incredible to any, who were not acquainted with his Temper and way of Life, the little Authority he had over his Courtiers, and how eafily Men are emboldened against a Prince, who has made himself contemptible to his Subjects.

The Cita- As foon as the Pisans got Possession del of Pisa de- of the Citadel, they razed it to the molished. Ground; and knowing their own Strength was not fufficient for their Defence, they at the same time sent Ambassadors to the Pope,

37 A. D. 1496.

Pope, to the King of the Romans, to the Venetians, Senese, Genoese, Luchese, and Duke of Milan, imploring the Aid of every one; but more preffingly that of the Venetians and Duke of Milan; to whom they had been already inclined to transfer the Jurisdiction of their City; and now, indeed, their Situation was fuch, that they were no longer in a Condition to treat for their Liberty and Independency, but of the Means that might preserve them from falling under the Florentine Yoke. Lodovico seemed the properest The Pifor their Purpose, because he had excited sans offer them to revolt, and was the nearest to their City their Borders; and, in reality, the only vice. one that had vigoroufly fupplied them, whilst the other Confederates had only amused them with Promises.

But the Duke, altho' passionately desirous of the Sovereignty of Pisa, could not venture to accept of the Offers made him, for fear of giving too great Offence to the Allies, who treated the Affairs of that City as those of the Common Cause: He therefore intreated them to defer their who first refuses.

Solli-

A. D. Sollicitations, or to furrender themselves to the San Severini, until a proper Opportunity offered to make it known, that the San Severini had received them But after- only in Trust for himself. But afterwards ac- wards, imagining he had little to fear cepts of their Offer from the Confederates, he determined to accept of their Offer.

But the Pisans began now to grow cool with regard to him, when they found the Venetians so ready to serve them: And they were made to believe, they should be safer under the Protection of tentates in many, than under a fingle Person; and also more likely to preserve their Liberties. wish well The Restoration of the Citadel had greatly raised their Spirits, and they could not have applied at a properer Juncture to the Potentates of Italy; For the Genoese, Senese, and Luchese, out of Hatred and Fear of the Florentines, were ready to affift them; and, to do it effectually, entered into a Treaty with them, in order to fettle what they were to contribute. The Venetians and the Duke of Milan, in hopes of annexing Pifa to their

The Pogeneral Pisans,

A. D. 1496.

their own Dominions, were follicitous to prevent its returning under the Florentines: And the Pope and King of Spain were pleafed to fee the Republic of Florence mortified, on account of their Attachment to the French Interest. They received Encouragement from all Parts, for Cafar confirmed their Liberties; the Venetians and Duke of Milan engaged to preserve their Liberty in the same manner they had done whilft they were in Subjection to the French; and the Pope, in the Name of all, as Head of the League, by a Brief declared they should be powerfully protected by all the Confederates. But the Venetians and Lodovico gave them effectual Affistance: The Duke augmented the Troops he had already there; and the Senate furnished a good Number of Men: And had they both steadily perfevered in their Refolutions, and continued their Supplies, the Pisans would not have lain under the Necessity of adhering more to the one than to the other, to the Detriment of the Common Cause. The Duke, ever tenacious of his Money, and by Nature inclined to proceed with C 4 Diffimu-

A. D. 1496.

Diffimulation and Artifice, imagining he could not well, at this Juncture, make himself Master of Pisa, began to slacken in the Disbursements necessary for their Defence; which obliged them to apply more earnestly to the Venetians, who plentifully provided them with every This had fuch an Effect on the Pisans, that not long after the French had delivered the Citadel, they fent to the Venetians to defire they would take them

intirely under their fole Protection. Lo-

The Pifans give themselves up dovico was privy to this Treaty, and, far of the Venetians.

to the fole Protection from taking Offence, rather feemed to approve of it: But the rest of their Friends were greatly diffatisfied; for altho' they had before used all their Interest to induce the Venetians to declare in their Favour, yet they thought themselves ill-used, that the Pisans should surreptitiously, without their Advice or Knowledge, conclude a private Treaty with them.

> But it is most certain, that the Venetians, neither out of a Defire of preferving other People's Liberty, a Thing which they value so much in their own

Country;

A. D. 1496.

Country; nor out of any Regard to the common Safety, as with fine Speeches they then and afterwards gave out; but from the fole Defire of acquiring the Dominion of Pisa, were so eager to take the Pisans into their Protection: They thought they could not fail of getting an absolute Command over them, and even by their own Consent, when it should, as of necessity it would, come to this alternative, Whether they would be subject to the Florentines, or to themselves.

YET when this Affair was laid before Debates the Senate, a few of the old Senators, in the venerable for their Age and Authority, Senate. retarded for fome time the Decree, against the almost general Inclination. They said, The making the Cause of Pisa their own, would be attended with many Difficulties; because that City was at a great Reasons Distance from their Borders by Land, but taking the much farther by Sea; before they could Pisans into their get thither, they must pass by the Ports Protection of other Potentates, and sail all round Italy, which would put them to an immense

A. D. 1496.

mense Charge in defending it against the continual Attacks of the Florentines. It was not to be denied, that this Acquisition would be a great Addition to their Dominions, but the Difficulties in preferving it ought first to be weighed; as also the Condition of the present Times, and what Effects fuch a Refolution would produce: For as Italy was naturally jealous of the Venetian Grandeur, such an Increase of their Power must be very displeasing to every one; and therefore in all Likelihood it would occasion greater, and more dangerous Accidents, than many perhaps were aware of. They were greatly deceived, who thought that the other Powers would remain idle Spectators, and permit them, who were already formidable, to annex fo important a State to their Dominions; and if, as in former Times, they were not able to hinder it themselves, they knew where to apply, fince the French had learned the way to pass the Alps; and that there was not the least Doubt but that they would, on fuch an Account, be invited, both out of Spite and Fear;

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It being the Nature of Mankind to chuse rather to subject themselves to Foreigners, than fubmit to the usurped Authority of a Sett of their own People. How could any one imagine that the Duke of Milan, actuated fometimes by Ambition and Hope, fometimes by Suspicion and Fear, should not be moved with Disdain, Anger, and Jealoufy, to fee transferred to us that Dominion, which, by fo many Artifices, he has been trying to get for himself? He certainly, rather than fee Pifa in our Hands, would put all Italy again in Combustion. And tho' he may now feem not diffatisfied, and even give his Confent, it may be very eafily comprehended, that these are not his real Sentiments, but Traps and Snares to deceive us. It would, indeed, be commendable in us to join with Lodovico in the Defence of Pisa, if on no other account than to prevent the Pifans from giving themselves up to him: But it cannot be prudent to make their Caufe our own, and draw on ourselves so much Jealousy and Trouble. They ought to confider, how contrary this would be to the End proposed in taking

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A. D. up Arms; which for many Months had been, and was still intended for the common Safety: No other Motive, than to free Italy from Barbarians, * could have induced the Senate to put themselves to fo great an Expence and Hazard. That they had begun with great Success; yet as the King was but just repassed the Alps, and had left a powerful Army in the Kingdom of Naples, a great part whereof he is still in Possession of; how imprudent, and how infamous would it be, if instead of bending our Thoughts to establish the Peace of Italy, we should sow new Seeds of Disturbances, that might forward the French King's Return, and induce the King of the Romans, who, as it was well known, has many Pretenfions on our State, to come into Italy, which is the Height of his Defire. The Republic of Venice was not in fo low a Condition, as to be under a Necessity of undertaking dangerous Exploits or unripened Schemes; on the contrary, no other State

^{*} The Italians, even in Guicciardini's Time, continued, like the old Romans, to give the Name of Barbarians to all beyond the Alps.

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State in Italy could better wait for Oppor- A. D. tunities and well digested Counsels: Precipitate and hazardous Enterprizes fuited only those that were in Despair; or, excited by Ambition, or love of Fame, were fearful they should never have another Opportunity offered them: But their Republic, furrounded with Power, Dignity, and Authority, was both envied and feared by all the Italian Powers; and, compared with a kingly or princely Government, was perpetual and immortal; no Death or Change ever altering its Name, The Venetian Senate: Therefore they ought never to hasten their Resolutions; it rather became their Wisdom and Gravity, first to weigh the Dangers that are latent under an Offer that gives fo much Hope and Pleasure; to consider the End as well as the Beginning of Things, and then reject rash Counsels, and abstain, as well in this present Affair of Pisa, as on all other Occasions, from terrifying and irritating their Neighbours; at least till Italy is better infured from her Dangers and Jealousies of the Ultramontanes; and above all let us give no Cause for their

Return.

A. D. Return. A few Months Experience has evinced, that all Italy, when free from Foreigners, follows the Dictates of this Senate: But when invaded, instead of being dreaded, we join in our Fears with the other Potentates.

THESE, and many other substantial Reasons, had no fort of Effect on the Minds of an ambitious Majority; who tamely submitted to the Directions of their Doge Agostino Barbarico. His Authority exceeded that of any former Doge, and was carried to fuch a Height, as to deferve rather the Name of Power than Authority. For besides his having enjoyed, with uninterrupted Success, that Dignity for feveral Years, and his being endowed with excellent Parts, he had artfully gained a great Majority of the Senators, who constantly concurred with him in opposing those, who by their Prudence and long Experience had obtained the highest Posts in the Government, and were in the greatest Esteem with the People. His Followers looked upon him as the Head of their Faction; and without

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any Regard to Integrity, or to the Gravity A. D. of the Senatorial Order, blindly came into every Thing he proposed. Barbarico was exceedingly fond of transmitting a glorious Name to Posterity, to which he thought nothing could better contribute than extending the Dominions of the Republick: Nor was he fatisfied that fince his Creation the Isle of Cyprus, by the Extinction of the Family of the Lufignani, had been annexed to the Venetian State, but was ever ambitious of making farther Additions when any Opportunity invited. Under these Sentiments he opposed those who were against taking Pisa under the Senate's Protection, and laboured with plaufible Arguments to convince the Senators of the great Advantage that would refult to the Republic from the Acquisition of that City; which, he faid, would mortify the Arrogance of the Florentines; who, after the Death of Filippo Maria Visconti, had prevented them from seizing on the Duchy of Milan; and who, in the War against the Duke of Ferrara, and on other Occasions, by supplying their Enemies with Money, had

A. D. had contributed more than any other , Potentate to render their Schemes abortive. He faid, they would eternally repent the letting slip to fair an Opportunity. That the Italian Powers were, at that Juncture, in fuch a low Condition, that all united could not hurt their State; nor was it at all likely that, either out of Indignation or Fear, they would have recourse to France: For the Duke of Milan, who had so much injured the King, would not venture to trust him. It was plain the Pope had no fuch Thought: And as for the King of Naples, tho' he were in pacific Poffession of his Kingdom, he would ever hear the Name of France with Abhorrence. Their fending Troops into Pisa, tho' not pleasing to the Italians, yet would not feem to them of fuch Confequence as to make them endanger Italy, by precipitately applying fuch Remedies as are used only in desperate Cases; for in flight Indispositions violent Medicines are never administered: Those are the last Resort. If, in the present weak and difunited State of the Italians, the Senate, out of Fear, should not make the most of this

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A. D. 1496.

this Opportunity, for obtaining what every one fo eagerly aspires at, it will be in vain to attempt it when they shall have recovered their pristine Vigour, and are without Apprehensions of a foreign Invasion. The best Remedy for vain Fear is to confider, that all human Undertakings are fubject to Dangers; but that very feldom all the apprehended Evils come to pass; many by Favour of Fortune or Chance never happen; and others are avoided by Prudence and Industry. Therefore we are not to confound, as is the Case of many who are ignorant of the true Signification of Words, and Substance of Things, Fear with Prudence: Nor pronounce those Politicians fage, who expecting all imaginary Evils to take Place, regulate their Proceedings accordingly. Such wary Statesmen are neither prudent nor wife; that Character belongs rather to the Brave, who weigh the Dangers; in which they also differ from the Rash, who neither know nor trouble themselves about them; and after maturely confidering them, refolve on an Enterprize, reafonably expecting they shall escape, some by

by good Fortune, and others by Steadiness: A. D. 1496. Let us, then, in our present Deliberation, confult Hope as well as Fear; and not like the Timerous, terrified with the Shadow of Perils, refuse so advantageous an Offer. Let us lay before our Eyes the Weakness and Disunion of the rest of the Italians, the Power and constant good Fortune of the Republic, the Magnanimity and glorious Examples of our Anceftors, and no longer hefitate to receive the Pisans into our Protection, will foon be followed by the abfolute Dominion of their City; and that obtained, will place us on the first Step of the Italian Throne."

The Doge had no sooner sinished this Venetians Speech, than the Senate, by a public Decree in Favour of Decree, received the Pisans into their the Pisans. Protection; expressly mentioning, That it was for the Defence of their Liberty. The Duke of Milan did not at first lay so much Stress on this Resolution as it deserved, because his Troops being excluded by this Treaty from the Desence of Pisa, he was pleased to find himself freed

freed from that Expence: Besides, he A. D. thought it his Interest to have the Florentines and Venetians, at the same time, put to fo great a Charge for the Concerns of that City: He perfuaded himself, that the Pisans, as well out of a Regard for his Power and Situation, as out of Gratitude for the many Services done them, would always incline more to him than to any He was become immoderately vain, and little confidering the Inconstancy of Human Affairs, was wont to fay, " He was the Son of Fortune, and could manage his Mother as he pleafed." He was at first greatly elated at the profperous Events of the French; and puffed up with the Thoughts, that he should have been able, with his Interest, to bring fo great a King with his Army into Italy. He attributed the Removal of Piero from the Government of Florence to his Interest with that Republic, which he had employed to punish him for not complying with his Counsels. He thought himself the Cause of the Rebellion of the Pisans, and of the Flight of his Enemies the Arragonians; and gloried that, after D 2 changing

A. D. changing Sides, his Counfels and Authority had brought about the Alliance, that was entered into by fo many Potentates against Charles; as also of the Return of Ferdinando into Naples, and the Departure of the French King from Italy on fuch ignoble Conditions; and that even with the Commander of the Citadel of Pisa, his Persuasion and Authority had more Sway than the Will and Orders of his Royal Master. With the same Rule he measured future Events; and imagining that in Prudence and Knowledge he was much superior to all the other Powers, flattered himself he should always direct the Affairs of Italy, and circumvent every one with his Artifices: Nor could he diffemble this Vanity, either in his Words or Actions. As it was known how much he delighted in the Thoughts, that every one should entertain the fame Notions of his Abilities, all Milan resounded Day and Night with vain Songs in his Praise in Latin and Italian Verse. In the Academies his Virtues were celebrated; they flattered his Wifdom, on which they made the Fate of Italy

Italy depend; exalting to the Skies both A. D. his Name and his Nick-Name of Moro, which was given him in his Youth on account of his fwarthy Complexion, and the Opinion then entertained of his Cunning, which Name he was pleafed always to retain *. By his Dexterity and Management he obtained the same Influence and Authority in the other Castles of the Florentines that were in the Hands of the French; fo that he feemed to be Arbiter on all Sides.

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THE King having heard the Complaints King of the Florentine Ambassadors, concerning Charles's the Citadel of Pisa, to make them some slighted Amends, sent Robert de Veste, a Gentle-byhis Go-vernors. man of his Bed-chamber, with Letters from Ligni to all his other Governors, in hopes that at least the other Castles would be immediately restored them: But his Com-

mands

* Moro in Italian signifies a Black. Giovio says he took his Name, not from his Complexion, but from the Mulberry-Tree in his Arms; which in Italian is called Moro. A Mark of Lodovico's Vanity, was a Picture he hung up in the Castle, representing a Queen, on whose Robes were delineated all the Italian Cities, and himself in the Person of a Black with Brush, rubbing off the Dutt.

A. D. mands were as little regarded abroad as they were at home, through the ill Difpofition of the Commanders, and the bad Example of Ligni, who had the Infolence to give out, that he acted in every thing by his Majesty's private Directions. The Bastard of Bienne, his Deputy-Governor of Sarzana, in the Prefence of the Florentine Commissaries, who came thither by his Orders to receive the Castle, delivered it up to the Genoese for Twenty-five Thousand Ducats; and the Castelan of Sarzanello following his Steps, did the same for another Sum: More was the Contriver and Broker of both these Contracts, and fent Fracassa with a Hundred Horse and Four Hundred Foot into the Lunigiana, which prevented the Florentines, who had retaken some of their Towns, from recovering the Remainder in those Parts.

> No T long after, Entragues, who had the Command of the Castles of Pietra Santa, Mutrone, and Librafatta, gave up the last to the Pisans, and fold the other

two to the Luchese for Twenty-six Thousand Ducats, by the Direction of the Duke of Milan; who first, indeed, intended to give them to the Genoese; but afterwards changing his Mind, chose rather to gratify the Luchese, to enable thein, who were more at Hand, the better to affift the Pifans, and also to unite them more firmly to his Interest. When the News of these Proceedings reached the King, tho' he expostulated in great Warmth with Ligni, and forbid Entragues to return into France; yet when Bonne came back, who, befides sharing the Money paid by the Pisans, had treated in Genoa about the Sale of Sarzana, he made his Report in fo plaufible a manner, that his Conduct was approved; and the Pisan Ambassador, who accompanied him, was graciously received, on his pretending to have been fent by the Pisans to pay their Homage to his Majesty, whom they had chose for their Sovereign; and when afterwards his Commission appeared to be forged, he was only dismissed. Ligni received no other Punishment than that of being for-D 4 bid

56

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A. D. 1496.

bid to lie any longer in the King's Chamber, where he had a Bed; and to this Mark of Confidence he was foon restored. Entragues remained in Disgrace, but he, also, after a short time, was admitted into Favour thro' the Intreaties of his Friends, and the King's Good-nature; who was perfuaded, as indeed was true, that the Florentines, notwithstanding such Usage, for their own Sakes would stand firm to him; and that whilst they were kept out of the Possession of Pisa, they would never join with the rest of the Confederates against him; which indeed proved true at this very Instant: For they pressed them with Threats to enter into their Alliance, but were constantly refused. The Confederates then being obliged to turn all their Thoughts to the Kingdom of Naples, contented themselves with leaving in Pisa a Number of Troops sufficient to keep up the Spirits of the Pisans, and protect their State from being intirely fwallowed up by the Florentines.

Virginio marches into Abruzzo.

THE Affairs of Naples seemed to be in a dangerous Situation; for Virginio had inlisted

37

inlifted a good Number of Men at Bagno A. D. Rapolano, and in the Perugian, and was marching with them into Abruzzo, accompanied by many of his Relations of the Orfini Family. He was foon after followed by Camillo and Pagolo Vitelli, with their Regiments, who being refused Refreshments at the Castle of Montelione, took and plundered it; which so terrified the other little Towns where they passed, that notwithstanding the Pope's threatning Orders, they were accommodated with Quarters and Provisions in all the Ecclefiaftical State. There was befides a general Report, that the French were coming by Sea with powerful Succours; and as Ferdinando was in great Diffress for want of Money, nor could, without much greater Affistance, defend himself, he was obliged to form new Schemes.

THE Allies had not, at first, comprehended Ferdinando in their Confederacy; and tho' after his Recovery of the City of Naples, the Sovereigns of Spain had sollicitously desired he might be admitted, the Venetians resuled it; persuading themselves,

A. D. selves, that Ferdinando's Misfortunes would be instrumental to their obtaining part of his Kingdom; a Project they had some time fince entertained.

Ferdinando treats Venetians for Succours.

FERDINANDO seemed to be in a destitute Condition; for the King of Spain with the was not disposed to send any more Supplies; and the rest of the Allies, grudging the Expence, did not fufficiently provide against his Danger. This induced him to fign a Treaty with the Venetians, under the Guaranty of the Pope and the King of Spain, by which they agreed to fend into his Kingdom the Marquis of Mantua, their General, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, and continue to keep their Fleet on his Coasts: But they absolutely insisted on a Clause, that these Auxiliaries might be withdrawn, whenever their own Defence required it. That for his prefent Exigences, they should lend him Fifteen Thousand Ducats; and for a Security of being reimbursed all their Charges, Ferdinando should confign to them Otranto, Brindifi,

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59

Brindisi, and Trani; and permit them to A. D. keep Monopoli and Pugliano, that were in their Hands; but they entered into an Obligation to restore all these Towns whenever the Money was repaid; which, by Agreement, was not to be reckoned at more than Two Hundred Thousand Ducats; tho' the Expences of Guards, Garrisons, and other Charges might never fo much exceed that Sum. These Ports being in the Adriatic, lay very commodious, and contributed to the Grandeur of the Venetians *.

THE Doge's Party acted now as they pleafed, meeting with little Opposition in the Senate: For the Counsels of the old Senators were no longer heeded, fince they had loft the Question in the Affair of Pifa. The fame old Patriots were now of Opinion, that it was not fafe to croud all their Sail, and trust intirely to the Winds, tho' feemingly propitious; but nothing they faid was regarded. The Venetian Power seemed now greatly to extend

^{*} Bembo adds, that Mount St. Angelo, when taken from the French, should be configned to the Venetians.

A. D. extend itself; for not content with what they had done at Pisa and Naples, they took Astorre *, Lord of Faenza, into their Pay, and his Territory into their Protection; which lay very convenient to keep the Florentines and all the rest of Romagna in Awe.

FERDINANDO, besides this Extraordinary Help, had some general Assistance from the Confederates; for the Pope,
the Duke of Milan, and the Venetians,
contributed to raise another Body of
Troops. But the Duke, with his usual
Artisice, that he might not seem to break
through the Treaty of Vercelli, tho' he
had the chief Hand in whatever Measures
were taken, yet would not allow his Name
to be mentioned; but, with the Consent
of the Allies, engaged to pay secretly for
his Share Ten Thousand Ducats a Month
towards the Charges.

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^{*} Bembo says, that the Faventines were fearful that some of their Fugitives, Friends to the Florentines, might destroy Aftorre, and therefore begged the Venetians to take him under their Protection: They accordingly sent for him to Venice, and put a Venetian Governor into Faenza.

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A. D. 1496.

THE Arrival of the Orfini and the Vitelli in Abruzzo revived the drooping Spirits of the French; Teramo and Civita di Chieti had revolted from them; and it was suspected that Aquila, the Capital of that Province, intended to follow their Example: but now it was confirmed in their Obedience, and Teramo was retaken, Juliana pillaged, and almost the whole Province of Abruzzo was in Possession of the French; whilst Ferdinando's Interest feemed again to decline throughout the whole Kingdom. The best part of Calabria was in the Power of Aubigny, altho' his long Sickness in Terace gave an Opportunity to Gonsalvo to maintain the War with his Spaniards, affifted by some of the Barons of that Province. Gaeta, with its Territories, was in the Hands of the French. The Prefect of Rome, with his Regiment, and with the Strength of his own State, recovered the Castle of Montecasino, and ravaged Terra di Lavoro. Monpensier could not put his Troops in Action for want of Money; yet he obliged Ferdinando, who laboured under the same DiffiA. D. Difficulty, to shut himself up in his frong Places, and kept him inactive and short of Provisions: But the King, who had now perfected the Convention with the Venetians, began to have better Spirits, and better Hopes; yet as the Treaty was newly made, it required Time before the Succours could arrive. Monpensier attempted to get Benevento by Treaty, but was prevented by Ferdinando; who having received private Information of what was transacting, suddenly threw himself into that City, and secured it. The French approached Benevento, encamped at the Bridge of Finochio, and took Possession of Fenezano, Apice, and feveral Villages in the Neighbourhood; but for want of Provisions were obliged to decamp.

THE Time was near at Hand when the Duties on the Wool of the Sheep of Puglia were to be collected: These Duties are one of the best Revenues of the Kingdom of Naples; for they amount yearly to Eighty Thousand Ducats, and

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63 A. D. 1496.

are collected in the Space of One Month*.

Monpensier marched towards Puglia, part of which was in his Possession, not only to deprive the Enemy of this Resource, but also to recruit his own empty Cossers.

Ferdinando sollowed at a small Distance, with an Intent rather to observe his Motions, and prevent any Attempts, than to hazard a Battle before his Succours arrived.

In the mean time the French Fleet French from Savona arrived before Gaeta, con-Fleet at Gaeta. fifting of Fifteen large, and Seven smaller Ships, having on Board Eight Hundred Men, that had been inlisted in the Territories of the Duke of Guelderland; as also those Swiss and Gascons that were to have sailed with the large Ships from Genoa. Ferdinando's Fleet, that wanted Necessaries, kept at a Distance, and could not prevent their entering the Port; so they landed unmolested, and immediately took Itry and

^{*} Bembo writes One Hundred Thousand, and that Monpensier and Perrino acted imprudently in carrying the War into Puglia on this account, which was against the Sentiments of Beaucaire, who persuaded them to keep the Army near Naples.

A. D.

1496.

and other Places, pillaging the Country round about them: Hence they advanced towards the City of Sezza, which Giovanni Baptista Carraccioli had promised to put into their Hands; but Don Federigo, who had marched from Taranto, with a Design to cover the Country about Naples, receiving Intelligence by the Way, made such Speed, that he prevented the French, and seized the Bishop and several Officers, his Accomplices in the Conspiracy.*

In Puglia, where lay the Stress of the War, each Party getting the better by Turns, the Events proved various; the Season was so severe, that both Armies were distributed in the neighbouring Towns, no single Place being large enough to quarter either Army: Their chief Employ was to make Excursions, and to carry off Cattle; in which they gave a greater Proof of their Dexterity, than of their Valoor.

FERDINANDO was with part of his
Men

^{*} Ferdinando, a little before his Death, ordered the Bishop to be beheaded. Bembo.

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65 A. D. 1496.

Men at Foggia, having quartered the rest at Troja and Nocera; where receiving Intelligence, that there was a prodigious Number of Cattle between the Towns of San Severo and Porcino, which were garrisoned by Virginio and Mariano Savelli, who had there One Hundred Men at Arms; he took with him Eight Hundred Light Horse * and Fifteen Hundred Foot, and arrived at San Severo by Break of Day. He posted the Foot to fall on Virginio if he stirred, and then fent the Light Horse + all over the Country, who carried off Sixty Thousand Head of Cattle, and obliged Mariano Savelli, who had fallied out of Porcino with One Hundred Soldiers, to retire, after the Loss of Thirty of his Men at Arms killed on the Spot.

Monpensier, to recover his Honour and Loss, assembled his whole Force, and marched towards Foggia: On his way between Nocera and Troja,

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^{*} Giovio fays Seven Hundred, and attributes all the Glory to Camillo Vitelli, who here, for the first Time, made use of Men with Guns on Horseback.

[†] These were Grecian Horses, lately brought from Macedon by the Venetians.

66

he unexpectedly encountered Eight A. D. 1496.

Hundred German Foot, in Ferdinando's Pay, who had been lately landed, and had rashly left their Quarters of Troja,

Eight Germans cut to Pieces at Foggia.

rather by the King's Permission than Order, and against the Sentiments of Hundred Fabritio Colonna, with an Intent to join Ferdinando at Foggia: They were immediately furrounded by the French Army, and not being able to fave themselves by Flight, and refusing to lay down their Arms, bravely fighting were all cut to Pieces, but made the Enemy pay dear for their Lives.

> MONPENSIER, after this, presented himself with his Army before Foggia, in order of Battle; but Ferdinando, not chusing yet to fight, kept within the Walls: The French then moved off to the Wood of the Incoronata *, where they remained Two Days, and recovered the best part of their Cattle; after which they returned to Foggia, and the next Day to San Severo; but in their March they loft many Horses, which were carried

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^{*} Incoronata is a Church in the Middle of a Wood.

A FEW Days after, Provisions growing Coglionessa scarce, the French went to Campobasso, taken by Which was in their Possession; from whence they sent some Troops to Coglionessa, a large Village, which they took Sword in Hand: The Swiss here, contrary to Orders, exercised great Cruelties upon the Inhabitants, which put the Country into the utmost Consternation, and more and more alienated the Minds of the People from a French Government *.

FERDINANDO refolved to act upon the Defensive till he was joined by the Troops of the Allies; in the mean time he put his Army in good Condition with the Help of Sixteen Thousand Ducats he had received from the Pope, and what Money he was able to collect from the People.

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^{*} Giovio says the Town surrendered, and was afterwards demolished by the French and Germans, the Men killed, and the Women ravished.

68

A. D. 1496.

ABOUT the same Time some Swifs and other Forces landed at Gaeta, and reinforced Monpensier's Army. On the other Hand, the Marquis of Mantua entered the Kingdom, and came to Capua by the way of San Germano, taking Poffession, either by Force or by Consent, of all the Towns in his March; but they were of no great Importance. At the beginning of June he joined the King at Nocera, whither Don Casare of Arragon conducted the Troops that had lain before Taranto. Now both Ferdinando and Monpensier had their Armies compleat: The French were superior in Foot, the Italians in Horse; so that in case of a Battle the Event feemed very doubtful, it being difficult to judge on which Side the Victory would incline.

THE King of France began now to turn his Thoughts in good Earnest to the Affairs of Italy, and awaked from that Lethargy which he seemed to have been seized with ever since his Return into France; was roused at the Loss of the Castles,

Castles, and at the Disappointment of the A.D. Florentine Succours, and gave Orders that 1496. every thing should be got ready for his Expedition. He began by imploring the Divine Aid, and went post, first to Tours, and then to Paris, to fulfil the Vows he had made to St. Martin and St. Denis at the Battle of the Taro; then came back with the same haste to Lions, and every Day grew more defirous of returning into Italy: He gloried in his Acquisition of so fine a Kingdom, and boafted of his being the first French King, that, after many Ages, had in Person renewed the Memory of the Gallic Arms and Victories. attributed the Misfortunes that had happened after his Return more to his own neglectful Conduct, than to the Courage of his Enemies, whose Name for military Affairs was in little Esteem amongst the French. His Ardour was heightened by the continual Sollicitations of the Florentine Ambassadors, of the Cardinal of St. Piero in Vincola, Giovanni Jacomo Trivulzi, Vitellozzo, Carlo Orfini, and afterwards of Count Montorio, who was fent on Purpose by the Barons of the French Party from E 3

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A. D. 1496.

Naples; and to enforce all, the Seneschal of Beaucaire was come by Sea from Gaeta, and gave great Hopes of Victory, if an immediate Succour was sent; but at the same time assured his Majesty, that intire Destruction must ensue, if the Affairs of that Kingdom were any longer neglected.

AND now most of the great Men in France, that had been formerly against the Expedition, thought it would be dishonourable to lose a conquered Kingdom, and to facrifice the Lives of fo many of their Countrymen, that were left for its Defence. Nor were these Defigns in the least restrained by the Motions of the Spaniards at Perpignan; it being well known their Preparations were not so considerable as they gave out; but it was thought proper, however, to fend a Body of Archers, accompanied by fome Swiss, to Narbonne, and other Places on the Borders, to keep every thing quiet in those Parts *.

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^{*} Ferdinando of Spain attempted to fright Charles from the Italian Expedition, by making a great shew of Troops at Perpignan; but he never intended to make War, because his Cossers were empty. Giovio.

A. D. 1496.

A GRAND Council was held, at which affisted all the Men of Note: It was refolved, that Trivulzi, with the Title of The King's Lieutenant, should proceed with all Speed to Asi, and take with him Eight Hundred Lances, Two Thousand Swifs, and Two Thousand Gascons; that he should be followed by the Duke of Orleans; and then the King should pass the Alps with the Remainder of the Army. It was expected, that on his Majesty's Arrival, the Duke of Savoy and the Marquisses of Montferrato and Saluzzo would declare in his Favour; which might prove of great Service in commencing the War against the Duke of Milan. It was also taken for granted, that all the Swifs Cantons, except Bern, which had engaged not to molest Lodovico, would readily let their Men be inlifted into the French Service. The Eagerness the King had expressed for this new Expedition, before the convoking of the Council, had a great Sway with the Members, and was the Occasion of an almost general Approbation: Charles had defired E 4

that he would strongly represent to the Council the Necessity of a speedy Reinforcement, and oppose those who should raise any Difficulties; which he did with great Warmth, whenever the Admiral, with a few of his Followers, not indeed contradicted, but only started some Objections, in order to cool the Resolution of the rest. The King himself openly declared, that it was not in his Power to act otherwise, being convinced, from an Impulse he selt within him, that it was the Will of God he should go in Person into Italy.

In this Council it was determined, that Thirty Ships, amongst which the Normanda *, a Vessel of very large Bulk, and another of much the same Burthen, belonging to the Knights of Rhodes, should sail from the Ocean, where they were stationed, to the Ports of Provence, in which Thirty more Vessels, consisting of Galleys and Galleons, should be equipped;

and

^{*} The Normanda, according to Bembo, was of Twelve Hundred Tons.

and thence proceed to the Kingdom of Naples, with a vast Supply of Men, Provisions, Ammunition, and Money: But as it would require some Time before this main Succour could be got in Readiness, that some light Vessels should be immediately dispatched with what Men and Provisions were at Hand.

RIGAULT, the King's Major-domo, Lodovico's was fent to Milan: For the Duke, tho' Artifices. he had not equipped the Two Ships that were stipulated, nor suffered the King to arm any Vessels in the Port of Genoa, and had restored only the Two taken at Rapalle, but not the Twelve Gallies that were stopped at Genoa, excusing himself by laying all the Blame on the Obstinacy of the Genoese, yet still kept a constant Correspondence with the King, to whom he had lately fent Antonio Maria Pallavicino, to affure him of his Refolution to observe all the Articles of the Treaty, and to defire some farther Time for the Payment of the Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Duke of Orleans. These Subterfuges would have availed him little

74

A. D. on another Occasion, as his Designs were feen thro', and his Sentiments well known at Court, not only from his Actions, but from some intercepted Letters; wherein he endeavoured to persuade the King of Spain, and the King of the Romans, to declare War against France. But in the present Exigence, as there were some Hopes that he might be induced by Fear to act otherwise than he would by Choice, Rigault's Instructions were to tell him, that it was in his Power to cancel the Remembrance of all past Offences, by restoring the Gallies, equipping the Two Ships, and permitting the King to arm his Vessels in the Port of Genoa. He was also to notify his Majesty's Resolution of paffing the Alps; and let him know, that it would prove very much to his Difadvantage, if now, that it was in his Power, he did not renew that Friendship, which the King was fatisfied he had neglected,

THE Fame of these great Preparations having reached Italy, had greatly disturbed the

more from ill-grounded Suspicions, than

from any folid Reason.

the Minds of the Allies: Lodovico Sforza, A. D. in particular, was very much affected, as his Territories were the first that must bear the Shock. He had heard how, after the Departure of Rigault, the King, with very angry Words, had dismissed all his Agents; and beginning to ruminate on the great Danger he was in, he would willingly have accommodated Matters with the King, but that he was conscious how much he had provoked him. This Confideration staggered him, and gave him fuch Diffidence, that he concluded it a harder Task to beget Confidence in one another, than to agree to Articles of Accommodation; for what was required for Safety of one Side, rendered precarious that of the other. He found himfelf, therefore, at last necessitated to make choice of what was then the most difagreeable to his Inclination. However, to keep off the Danger as long as possible, he amused Rigault with his usual Artifices; and, with an Air of Sincerity, told him, that he would oblige the Genoese to comply, provided the King would give creditable Sureties in Avignon, that the Ships should

Mar: Further, That each should reciprocally promise, that nothing new should be attempted against one another; and Hostages given for mutual Security.

Lodovico found Means to spin out some Time with these Proposals, and when they were agreed to, raised some new Dissiculty; till at last Rigault, sinding he was deceived, gave over treating, and lest Milan.

But Lodovico had lost no Time, for whilst the Treaty was depending, he dispatched Expresses to the King of the Romans, to invite him to come into Italy, where he would find the Venetians and himself ready to receive him. He sent Ambassadors to Venice, to sollicit the Senate to unite in this Common Danger, and fend instantly all the Forces and Money they could spare, towards Alexandria, that they might be in Readiness to oppose the French: The Venetians came into this Measure without much Difficulty; but were not fo eafily induced to admit the King of the Romans, of whom they

A. D. 1496.

they had Reason to be jealous; for he laid Claim to their Terra-Firma, pretending it belonged to the Empire and House of Austria. They also made some Objection against putting the whole Army under the Command of Lodovico; but as he continued his Sollicitations, and the Senate knew his timorous Temper, and that Despair might induce him to throw himself into the Arms of the French, they agreed to every thing he desired, and sent an Ambassador to Casar.*

THE Duke and the Venetians were both apprehensive, that as soon as the King was arrived in Italy, the Florentines would attack the Rivieras of Genoa; for which Reason they ordered Giovanni Bentivoglio, who had listed himself with Three Hundred Men at Arms in the Service of the Confederates, to invade the Florentine Borders on the Side of Bologna; assuring him, that at the same Time they should be attacked by the Senese and Pisans; and moreover engaged, that

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^{*} The Italians gave Maximilian and his Predecessors the Name of Casar; tho, as said before, not of Emperor, till they were crowned by the Pope.

remain in his Possession under their Guatanty. Bentivoglio seemed to comply, the he intended nothing less: He was terrissed at the Return of the French, and privately sent to the King, excusing his past Conduct, which he said had proceeded from the Situation of Affairs at Bologna at that Juncture; promising him for the future to depend on his Will, and on his Regard to give no Disturbance to the Florentines.

But the King's Defire, tho' never for ardent, was not sufficient to have all his Deliberations put in Execution, tho' his Reputation, and the Danger of Naples required Expedition: For the Cardinal of St. Malo, who was Treasurer, and had the Direction of every thing, tho' he did not openly disapprove of what was doing, yet he retarded the Payments in such a manner, that all the Preparations were delayed; either because he had a Mind to be thought saving of the Public Money; or, as most People believe, bribed with the Gifts and Promises of the Pope and Lodovico,

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Lodovico, with whom, as was faid, he A.D. held a fecret Correspondence. For no Orders the King gave could avail, tho he sometimes begged and persuaded, at others commanded with Anger and reproachful Words: For the Cardinal well knowing his Temper, soothed him with a seeming Compliance to what he never intended to perform. Besides another sudden Accident had like to have quite overturned the whole Expedition.

AT the latter End of May, when every one expected the King would begin his March for Italy, he declared his Resolution of going to Paris, to take a formal Leave of St. Denis, and also of St. Martin, in his way through Tours. He faid his Journey to Paris was of the utmost Consequence; for being determined to carry with him into Italy great Sums of Money, left he should be put to the Streights he had been at in the preceding Year, it was necessary for him, first to raise Money on the Parisans, because their Example would be followed by all the other Cities of his Kingdom; besides,

might follicit the speedy March of the Troops out of Normandy and Picardy. He promised to return within a Month; and that the Duke of Orleans should, in the mean time, proceed to Italy. But the true Reason of this Journey was thought to have been an Affection he bore to a Lady of the Queen's Bed-chamber, her Majesty being just gone to Tours with her Court.

CHARLES could not be perfuaded to fet aside this Journey, neither by the Intreaties of his Ministers, nor by the Prayers and Tears of the Italians, tho' they endeavoured to make him fenfible of the irreparable Damage a Delay would cause to his Affairs in the Kingdom of Naples, where his Army must be destroyed for want of Succour. His Return to his Capital when all Italy was waiting his Arrival, would be very prejudicial to his Interest in that Country; for the Credit of an Enterprize is leffened by very fmall Accidents, and when once funk, was not eafily retrieved, tho' greater Efforts were made

made than were at first intended. But the King, deaf to fuch reasonable Advice, loitered still a Month at Lyons before he began his Journey to Paris; and without dispatching the Duke of Orleans, as promised, he sent only Trivulzio, with a few Soldiers, to Afti; which he did not fo much to make necessary Preparations, as to confirm in his Interest Filippo Duke of Savoy, who had just then succeeded his young Nephew. All the Care he took of the Kingdom of Naples before his Departure from Lyons, was to provide Six Ships loaded with Provisions, which he ordered to fail to Gaeta, giving Hopes they should be followed by a grand Fleet; and a Remittance of Forty Thousand Ducats to Monpensier, by means of the Florentine Bankers, to prevent the Swiss and Germans from deferting to Ferdinando, as they had protested should be the Case, if they did not receive their Pay before the End of June.

THE Duke of Orleans, the Cardinal of St. Malo, and the Council remained at Lions, with Orders to accelerate all - Things

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A. D., 1496.

Things necessary for the Expedition: But if the Cardinal was remiss when the King was present, it could not be expected he would be more sollicitous in his Absence; and the Affairs of the Kingdom of Naples would not admit of such Delays; for the Armies on both Sides having taken the Field with all their Strength, it was pecessary, on several Accounts, to come to a Decision.

FERDINANDO, after joining the Venetians, had taken Castel Franco, where he also received a Reinforcement of Two Hundred Men at Arms under Giovanni Sforza Lord of Pesaro, and Giovanni Gonzaga, Brother to the Marquis of Mantua, who were General Officers in the Confederate Army, which now confisted of Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred Light Horse, and Nine Thousand Foot.

THE French were encamped before Circelle, Ten Miles from Benevento; Ferdinando directed his March to Frangete di Monteforte, which was within Four Miles Miles of them: But that Place being well fortified, could not be taken at the first Assault, as was expected. The French moved from Circelle, in hopes of relieving it, but they arrived too late; for the Town dreading a second Attack, submitted, and was delivered up by the German Foot at Discretion.

THE French had now a fair Opportunity of destroying the Neapolitan Army, had they known how to make a good Use of it: For every one allows, that whilst Ferdinando's Troops were pillaging the Town of Frangete, without any Order or Discipline, they might have been easily routed. Ferdinando's Commanders were apprised of the Danger, knowing the two Armies were parted only by a Valley, and therefore used all their Endeavours to call the Soldiers together, and range them in proper Order; but all to no Purpose.

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MONPENSIER was sensible, and so was Virginio Orsini, of this Opportunity of getting a compleat Victory: The first gave Orders to march and attack; but not F'2 prevailing,

1496.

prevailing, the other, with Tears in his Eyes, begged they would move and pass the Valley, whilst the Italians were full of Diforder, and deaf to the Commands of their Officers. But Perfi, the next in Authority to Monpensier, prompted by juvenile and inconfiderate Levity; or, as fome thought, out of Jealoufy of Monpensier's Glory, made the Attack appear very dangerous to the Army; he faid, that to pass the Valley they must mount, in a manner, under the Enemy's Feet, who were strongly fortified; and, vehemently diffuading the Soldiers from fighting, was the fole Occasion of the Prefervation of the Italian Army. It was thought that he also instigated the Swiss at this Juncture to demand their Pay, which not being possible to be complied with, it occasioned a Tumult: So Monpensier was obliged to return under Circelle, which Place he stormed the next Day: In the Affault Camillo Vitelli, acting the Part both of General and common Soldier, was killed by a Stone thrown from the Walls, which pitched on his Head. The French were so discouraged at this Acci-

Camillo Vitelii killed at Circelle.

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dent, that they immediately raised the A. D. Siege, and marched towards Arriano, with an Intent, however, to give Battle if a fair Opportunity offered. But the Arragonians had no Thoughts of running any Risk, and the Venetian Proveditors were positive in the same Resolution; for they knew the Enemy began to want Provisions and Money, and they had no great Opinion of the Preparations making in France: They had also Reason to expect Commotions in other Parts of the Kingdom; for in Abruzzo, Annibale, (a natural Son of the Lord of Camerino) who was a Voluntier in Ferdinando's Army, and had brought with him Four Hundred Horse at his own Expence, had routed the Marquis of Bitonto. The Duke of Urbino was also expected with Three Hundred Men at Arms: He was engaged for a Year yet to come in the Pay of the Florentines; but chose to quit them, and come into the Service of the Allies, from whom he expected greater Advantages: But to fave his Reputation, he gave out that his Dominions were a Fief of the Church, which put him under an Obli-F 3 gation

85

A. D. gation of obeying the Pope's Orders.

Gratiano di Guerra was sent with a Party to prevent his joining the Enemy; but Count Celano and Count Pepoli, in the Plains of Sermona, attacked him with Three Hundred Horse and Three Thousand of the Militia, and put him to Flight.

THE good Fortune of the French had begun to decline ever fince they loft the Opportunity of destroying the Italian Army at Frangete. Infinite Difficulties concurred at the same Time to distress them; an extreme Scarcity of Money, Want of Provisions, Hatred of the People, Disagreements amongst the Officers, Disobedience in the Soldiers, and the Defertion of Numbers from their Camp; fome being drove away by Necessity, and others difgusted at the Service. They had not Power enough to gather any Quantity of Money, and they received none from France; and even the Forty Thousand Ducats remitted to Florence came too late. They had then no Money to buy Provisions, nor could they force much from the Inhabitants; for their Enemies were in Possession of most of the Towns around them.

them. The Army on this Account was A. D. full of Diforders, and the Courage of the Soldiery greatly damped. The Swifs and Germans perpetually grumbled, and in a tumultous manner demanded their Pay; and the Disagreement between the two Generals increased the Discontent. The Prince of Bisignano went off with his Men, to protect his own Principality against Gonsalvo; and great Numbers of the Neapolitan common Soldiers left their Colours, not only because they received no Wages, but also on account of the ill Usage they received from the French and Swifs in the Distribution of the Prizes and Provisions. These Difficulties obliged the Army to retire every Day from one Place to another, with a Diminution of its Reputation in all Places. They were followed by Ferdinando, but the French could never get an Opportunity to engage, as Monpensier and Virginio earnestly defired: Rosso only, a Venetian Commander of One Hundred Men at Arms, not being able to join the Allies, was cut to Pieces with his Men by the Prefect of Rome. At last the French being encamped at F 4 MonteA. D. 1496.

Montecalvoli and Cafalarbore near Arriano, Ferdinando approached them within Bowshot, and entrenched himself in such a manner as to fear no Danger. From this Post he reduced the Enemy to an intire Want of Provisions, and also deprived them of Water. This determined Monpensier to march into the plentiful Province of Puglia; and being aware of the Inconveniences that attend an Army when closely purfued, he broke up filently in the Beginning of the Night, and marched without beat of Drum full Twenty-five Miles without halting. Ferdi+ nando knew nothing of their Motions till the next Morning, and then fet out after them; but they were so far advanced as not to be overtaken: So he fat down before Giefualdo, and took it the same Day, tho' it had formerly sustained a Siege of Fourteen Months. This proved a great Disappointment to the French, who intended to stop at Venosa, a Place of Strength, and well fupplied with Provisions: For as they were persuaded that the Siege of Giefualdo would detain the Enemy feveral Days, they halted fome time

Giesualdo

time at Atella, a Town they had taken; A. D. and whilst they were employed in plundering, Ferdinando overtook them: He was repulsed in an Attack, but found means at last to place his Camp in their Front, so as to prevent them from proceeding to Venosa, which was Eight Miles distant. The French were then obliged to remain at Atella, where they entertained Hopes of receiving Affiftance and Provifions from the neighbouring Towns that were in their Possession. But Ferdinando disposed his Men in such a manner, as to frustrate the best part of these Expectations: He next cut down Timber, and dug feveral Trenches about Atella; took feveral of the adjoining Villages, and began to think he had it now in his Power to gain a compleat Victory, without Danger or Blood-shed.

THE Distresses amongst the French The Gerincreased daily; for the German Foot mans go over to having received but Two Months Pay Ferdinansince they came out of their own Country, do and the Time they had been promised their Money being elapsed, went over in

A. D. a Body to Ferdinando; which, besides strengthening his Army, gave him an Opportunity of placing more Troops in the Avenues of Atella; by which means. the Enemy could receive but very little Provision from Venosa, and the Parts adjacent. This disheartened them extremely, as they knew they could not fubfift many Days in Atella, where there was but very little Wheat; and a Water-Mill near the Walls of the Town had been destroyed. But what made their Case desperate was, that all Hopes of Relief were now extinguished: For what happened in Calabria gave the finishing Stroke, and ruined all their Affairs in that Kingdom. Aubigni, oppressed by a long and tedious Sickness, could not keep his Troops under due Discipline, and several on this Account quitted him, and went to ferve under Monpensier. Gonfalvo, by this means, had an Opportunity of taking several Towns in that Province: He had lately encamped at Castrovillare with the Spaniards, and a Thousand Peasants, where he received Intelligence, that the Count of Mileto, and

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and Alberigo San Severino, with feveral A. D. Barons, and an Army equal to his own, were encamped at Laino; that their Numbers increased every Day, and that as foon Laine. as they had a Superiority, they were determined to give him Battle. Gonfalvo resolved to be before-hand, in hopes of finding them unprepared; as was likely enough, fince they had no Reason to expect that he would attack them in their strong Quarters at Laino. This Town lies on the River Sapri, which divides Calabria from the Principato, and joins to a Castle on the opposite Side by a Bridge. Here the French were lodged, and were defended by the Caftle from any Attack that might be made from the High-Road; Mufano and other Villages belonging to the Prince of Bis fignano, their Friend, lay also between Lains and Castrovillare. But Gonfalvo took a Method unexpected to furprize them: He decamped from Castrovillare a little before Night, and leaving the Highway, fetched a Compass by a difficult Road; for he Gonsalwas obliged to pass over some Mountains, wo's politic March and in this manner got to the River un- to Laine. observed.

A. D. observed. He ordered the Foot to take 1496. Possession of the Bridge that was between the Castle of Laino and the Town;

which, as the Enemy was under no Apprehension from that Quarter, was very ill guarded. Gonsalvo himself, with the Horse world the River Two Miles

the Horse, waded the River Two Miles higher, arrived at Laine Two Hours be-

He takes fore Day; and meeting no Centinels or Laino by Guards, got into the Town, seized on Surprize. Eleven Barons, and made most of the

Soldiers Prisoners; for as they ran towards the Castle, they were intercepted by the Foot, who had made themselves Masters of the Bridge. This was the first Victory obtained by Gonsalvo in the Kingdom of Naples, after which he took several Towns

in Calabria *; then augmenting his Army with Six Thousand Men, joined the Camp at Atella; where also the Duke of Candia, who was in the Pay of the Con-

federates, fent a Detachment of One

Hundred Men at Arms from the Roman Territory,

THE

^{*} Squillace, Simari, Crotone, Seminara, Nizastroj Terra, Sluira, and Cisenza.

1496. THE Arrival of Gonfalvo gave Ferdinando an Opportunity of blocking up Atella more closely: Three Parts of the besieged. Town were wholly shut up, on one Quarter by the Arragonians, on another by the Venetians, and on a Third by the Spaniards; fo that all Provisions were in a manner stopt, especially as the Venetian Stradiotti scoured the Country, and took feveral Convoys coming from Venosa. Nor had the Besieged any Opportunity to go in Quest of Forage, except in the Night with large Escorts; and Means were found to prevent that also. Pagolo Vitelli ventured at Noon-day to go out with One Hundred Men at Arms, but feveral of them were cut off by an Ambush laid by the Marquis of Mantua.

THE French were now reduced to the last Extremity: For they had neither Water for themselves, nor could they any longer water their Horses in the River, as they had done with an Escort hitherto: So that overcome with Thirst and Hunger, and having no Hopes of Relief, after enduring

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observed. He ordered the Foot to take Poffession of the Bridge that was between the Castle of Laino and the Town; which, as the Enemy was under no

He takes Laine by Surprize.

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Squillace, Simari, Crotone, Seminara, Nizafiro Terra, Sluira, and Cifenza.

93 A. D.

1496. THE Arrival of Gonfalvo gave Ferdinando an Opportunity of blocking up Atella Atella more closely: Three Parts of the besieged. Town were wholly shut up, on one Quarter by the Arragonians, on another by the Venetians, and on a Third by the Spaniards; so that all Provisions were in a manner stopt, especially as the Venetian Stradiotti scoured the Country, and took feveral Convoys coming from Venosa. Nor had the Besieged any Opportunity to go in Quest of Forage, except in the Night with large Escorts; and Means were found to prevent that also. Pagolo Vitelli ventured at Noon-day to go out with One Hundred Men at Arms, but feveral of them were cut off by an Ambush laid by the Marquis of Mantua.

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1. D. enduring a Siege of Twenty-two Days: they were obliged to capitulate. Atella ca. they had obtained proper Passes, they sent

pitulates. out Perfi, Bartolomeo D'Alviano, and a Swifs Officer to treat with Ferdinando. who agreed with them on the following Terms: That there should be a Truce for Thirty Days, during which Time none of the Besieged should go out of Atella, but be daily supplied by the Arragonians with Provisions. That Monpenfier might give Notice to the King of France of the Situation he was in, and if no Succours arrived in Thirty Days, from the figning the Articles, then he should not only furrender Atella, but also give up all the Places that were possessed by the French, and under his Command in the Kingdom of Naples, with the Artillery. That his Men should be safe in their Persons and Effects, and the French be allowed to return into France, by Land or by Sea, as they liked; and the Orfini, and other Italians, might retire where they pleafed out of the Kingdom. That all the Barons, and other Subjects of Ferdinando, that within a Fortnight laid down their Arms,

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Arms, should be pardoned, and all their Effects restored.

95 A. D. 1496.

THE Thirty Days being expired, the French, with many of the Swifs, and the Orfini, were conducted to the Castle of Stabbia, near the Sea. But Monpenfier refused to give Orders for the Delivery of what remained still in Possession of the French in other Parts of the Kingdom; which Ferdinando infifted, that as Captain-General, he ought to perform according to the Articles: But he denied having fuch a Power, and faid his Authority did not extend to the Officers and Governors in Calabria, Abruzzo, Gaeta, and in feveral other Castles and Forts; because they had received their Trust immediately from the King, and not from him. This Dispute lasted several Days; but at last Ferdinando, to be even with him for being thus cajoled, gave out, that the Veffels were not ready to receive the French on board; and whilft they were equipping, removed them to Baja and Pozzuolo; where, on account of the bad Air, and many other Hardships, most of them fickened

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A. D. fickened and died: Monpensier perished amongst the rest; and of his Men, who exceeded Five Thousand, hardly Five Hundred got safe into France *. Virginio and Pagelo Orfini were fent Prisoners to Castel dell' Uovo, by the Pope's Defire, who was determined to confifcate their Estates. He sent the Duke of Urbino to plunder and strip their Men, who were in Abruzzo under the Command of Giovanni Giordano, Virginio's Son, and Bartolomeo d' Alviano; but these two Officers were not present, for Ferdinando had ordered them to be brought to Naples, and kept them in Prison; tho' Alviano found Means to escape, either by his own Management and Industry, or by the Connivance of Ferdinando, who had a particular Regard for him.

AFTER the Victory of Atella, Ferdinando divided his Army into several Bodies, that he might at once recover the Remainder

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^{*} Giovio writes, that Monpenster was invited by the Marquis of Mantua to leave that Air, and reside with him; but that he resused it, saying he would not abandon his Army. The same Writer says, that the bad Air carried off a great many Arragonians as well as French.

97

mainder of his Kingdom. He ordered A. D. Don Federigo to march to Gaeta, and Prospero Colonna to Abruzzo, where the City of Aquila had, of its own accord, returned to his Obedience. Fabritio Colonna took the Castle of San Severino by Affault; and to strike a Terror into the rest, he ordered the Governor and his Son to be beheaded. He afterwards went to Salerno, where the Prince of Bifignano came to him to treat for himself, for the Prince of Salerno, Count Capuccio, and other Barons. It was proposed they should enjoy their Estates, provided they delivered their Castles to Ferdinando, who was to keep them a limited Time for his own Security: They all complied with the Conditions, and went to Naples.

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No greater Resistance was made in Abruzzo; for Gratiano di Guerra, who had a Body of Eight Hundred Men, not being in a Condition to support himself, retired to Gaeta. Gonsalvo returned into Calabria, where the French had the greatest Interest, and were in Possession of the best part of that Province. Aubignizes

98

A. D. 1496.

Aubigni gives up Calabria.

resisted some Time; but when Manfred donia and Cosenza, which had been plundered by the French, were taken, despairing of holding out any longer, he agreed to relinquish Calabria, and was permitted to return into France by Land.

CERTAIN it is, that many of these Losses were occasioned by the Negligence and ill Conduct of the French. Manfredonia was well fortified, and fituated in a plentiful Country; and might have been eafily furnished with Provisions: The King had left Gabriello di Montefalcone for Governor, a Man reputed brave and refolute; yet he was obliged to deliver up this important City, after a few Days Siege, for want of Provisions. Other Places, that could have defended themselves, furrendered, either out of Cowardice, or private Interest of their Governors; or because they would not bear the Inconveniences of a Siege. Some of the Governors found their Castles very well victualled, but fold the Provisions; and therefore were forced to capitulate at the first Appearance of the Enemy. This Beha-

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99 A. D. 1496.

Behaviour rendered the French despicable, and made them intirely lose the Reputation they had formerly gained, when the Person who was lest Governor of Castel dell' Nuovo by Giovanni d' Anjou held it for several Years against Ferdinando; nor did he surrender till the Garrison was almost famished. Taranto, Gaeta, and some few Towns held by Carlo del Sanguine, and Mont St. Angelo, from whence Giuliano Oreno made several bold Excursions, were the only Places that remained in the Hands of the French throughout the Kingdom.

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FERDINANDO was now in the Heighth of his Glory; and every one expected he would be equal to any of his brave Ancestors, when he was snatched away by an untimely Death. He made a Progress to Somma, a Village at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius, to meet his Queen; here, either sinking under his late Fatigues, or oppressed by some fresh Disorder, he fell dangerously ill, and was carried, with little Hopes of Recovery, to Naples, where he died in a few Days, Death of and within a Year after the Decease of ferdinan-

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THE HISTORY OF

Magnanimity, and other princely Accomplishments, as well as his Victories, which were ascribed to his Valour and Conduct, left a deep Impression, not only in the Hearts of his Subjects, but of all the Italians. Dying without Issue, he was succeeded by his Uncle Don Federigo. The Kingdom of Naples had now seen Five Kings in the Space of Three Years.

Federigo's As foon as Federigo had Notice of Accession. his Nephew's Death, he left the Siege of Gaeta and went to Naples, where the old Queen, his Mother-in-Law, put him in Possession of Castel Nuovo, contrary to the Expectation of many, who thought she would keep it at the Disposition of her Brother Ferdinando, King of Spain.

FEDERIGO came to the Crown with the Acclamations of all Parties; for the Princes 'n

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* He was taken with a Flux, occasioned by the Embraces of his new Consort Giovanna, Daughter to his Grandfather, King Ferdinando. Giovio.

+ The Five Kings were the Four Arragonians, and Charles VIII.

Princes of Salerno * and Bisignano, and A. D: Count Capuccio, were the first that received him on his Arrival, and proclaimed him King. He was preferred to Ferdinando for the Mildness of his Temper: Besides there was a Rumour, that Ferdinando intended, as foon as he should find himself settled in the Government, to profecute all those that had been attached to the French. But Federigo, to take off all fuch Suspicions, and the better to reconcile the adverse Party, with great Prudence restored the contumacious Barons to their Castles, for which he was very much commended.

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This ill Success, attended with so much Loss and Ignominy, did not awaken the French King; he was absent Four Months from his Court and Army, immerged in Pleasures, and deaf to the continual Sollicitations that came from Lions, to desire his Return. He ordered them, indeed, to continue the Preparations, both by Sea and Land, and the Duke

‡ Giorio says, that the Prince of Salerno never submitted to Federigo, and resused to assist at his Coronation.

A. D. of Orleans was in Readiness to set out: but the Cardinal, with his usual Artifices, delayed the Payments, which retarded the March of the Troops. The Fleet that was to affemble at Marfeilles, was, for the same Reason, kept back so long, that the Allies had Leisure to send first to Nice, and afterwards to the very Mouth of the Harbour of Marfeilles, a large Fleet, equipped at their common Expence in the Port of Genoa, to prevent the French from putting out to Sea. Besides the Cardinal's Artifices, another Reason was whispered about, to be the Occasion of this Delay, which was industriously nourished in the King's Breast, by those who were averse to the Italian Expedition. They represented to his Majesty the ambitious and dangerous Defigns of the Duke of Orleans, who, if victorious, would possess himself of the Dutchy of Milan. They also urged, that it was not expedient, nor for the King's Interest, that he should leave France before he had made fome Agreement with the King of Spain, who, defirous of a Reconciliation, had fent Ambassadors to propose a Truce, which

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103 A. D.

which might be improved into a Peace. Many also counselled him to wait till the Queen was brought to Bed; ' It did not, faid they, become his Prudence, and the Love he had for his Country, to expose himself to so many Dangers, before he had an Heir to fo fine a Kingdom.' This Reason became stronger, as the Queen was foon after brought to Bed of a Son, who lived but a few Days. So that, partly thro' the Negligence and ill Conduct of the King, and partly by the Difficulties artfully interposed by the Courtiers, the Preparations were deferred; which occafiened the Destruction of his Army, and the total Loss of the Kingdom of Naples: And his Allies would have fuffered in Proportion, had they not taken Care of themselves, without relying on his Promifes.

IT has been faid, that rather to content Lodovico, who was frightened at the intended Expedition of the French, than out of any Defire of the Venetians, a Treaty was begun in order to bring Maximilian into Italy. And it had been stipu-

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A. D. lated that Lodovico and the Venetians should pay him a Subfidy of Twenty Thousand Ducats a Month for Three Months, to defray the Charges of the Horse and Foot that were to accompany him. As foon as the Articles had been fettled. Lodovico took with him the Ambassadors of the Allies, and went to Manzo, a Place beyond the Alps on the Borders of Germany, where he was met by Maximilian. After a long Conference, Lodovico came back to Bormi, a Village in his own Dominions on this Side the Alps; and Cafar the next Day, under Pretext of going a Hunting, came to the same Place, where, in two Days, the Time and Manner of his Passage into Italy were adjusted; and then Maximilian returned into Germany, to hasten the Execution of what had been projected.

> No T long after Lodovico's Fears were diffipated, there being no Appearance of a French Invasion, and consequently no Occasion for the King of the Romans to march into Italy; but Lodovico was still defirous, that what he had procured before for

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for his Safety, might now be effected to ferve his Ambition: So he continued to apply to Maximilian. And because the Venetians refused to pay their Proportion of the Thirty Thousand Ducats that Maximilian demanded, over and above the Sixty Thousand already agreed for, he promifed to be answerable for them himself; Maximilian then came into Maximi-Italy. When he was near Milan, he into Italy. heard the News of Ferdinando's Decease, and immediately entertained Thoughts of procuring the Neapolitan Crown to be placed on Giovanni, the King of Spain's only Child, and his Son-in-Law. But Lodovico having convinced him, that this would extremely diffatisfy the Italians, and difunite the Confederates, which of course would facilitate the Designs of the French, he not only gave up his Point, but writ Letters in Favour of Federigo's Succeffion.

MAXIMILIAN brought with him an inconfiderable * Force; but gave out, that

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His Attendance was fo fmall, that he was ashamed of it; and to avoid the Crowds that flocked about him, he avoided going into Como and Milan.

that very foon he should be followed by a larger Body, which would complete the Number he had engaged to furnish. He stopped at Vigevano; where, in a Council held in his Presence, at which affifted Lodovico, the Cardinal Santa Croce the Pope's Legate, and the Ambassadors of the Allies, it was proposed to go into Piedmont, in order to take Asti, and detach from the French Interest the Duke of Savoy and the Marquis of Monferrato, who were Members of the Empire, and were fummoned to meet and confer with his Majesty, in some Town in Piedmont: But his Forces were too small to give Authority to his Commands; neither of these Princes took any Notice of his Orders, nor was there any Likelihood of fucceeding before Afti. He also cited the Duke of Ferrara, who was a Feudatory of the Empire, as being in Possession of Modena and Reggio, and for the Security of his Person he offered to pledge the Word and Faith of Lodovico: But the Duke refused to comply, saying, ' He could not in Honour take such a Step,

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Lodovico was very uneafy at the Thoughts of Pifa's falling into the Hands of the Venetians; as it both checked his Ambition, and endangered the Liberties of all Italy: He therefore pressed Maximilian to go to Pisa, persuading himfelf with fallacious Reasonings, that the Florentines, not being able to refift their united Strength, would then be forced to quit their Alliance with France: He imagined they could not refuse to make Maximilian Umpire of their Disputes with the Pifans, who might put an End to all their Differences, either by bringing them into fome Agreement, or by deciding according to Equity: And in the mean time Lodovico proposed, that Pisa and its Territory should be deposited in Maximilian's Hands; not doubting but he had Authority enough with the Pifans to get their Consent. He flattered himself that the Venetians could not in Honour reject a Proposal so just in itself, and that seemed so well calculated for the common Good,

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108

A. D. 1496.

especially if insisted on by the rest of the Allies. Pifa had formerly been an imperial Town; and therefore it feemed reasonable, when Maximilian was present, that his Majesty, preferable to any other, should decide any one's Pretentions to that City. And Sforza was perfuaded that when Pisa was thus deposited, with his Money, and the Interest he had with Maximilian, it might be an easy Matter for him to compass his Ends. Maximilian did not dislike the Motion; for he was unwilling to have it thought that his March into Italy had been of no fort of Importance. Again, he had been so extravagant and prodigal, and fpent fo much Money in vain Projects, that he was in extreme Want; and he hoped that this Affair of Pisa would be very beneficial, and procure him large Sums from the Florentines, or from some of the Allies. The Proposition was approved by the Confederates, as greatly conducive to the Security of Italy: Nor was it contradicted by the Venetian Ambassador. The Senate was well apprifed of Lodovico's Intentions, but made no doubt of thwarting his Defigns,

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109

1496.

figns, as also of getting, thro' Maximilian's Means, the Port of Liverno annexed to the Pisan Dominion; which would for ever deprive the Florentines of all Hopes of recovering the City of Pisa.

THE Allies had often follicited the Florentines to act in concert with them; and when the ill Consequences of the Paffage of the French were apprehended, they had obliged themselves to prevail with the Pifans to return under their Dominion. But the Florentines would not trust the Venetians nor Lodovico; and being no way disposed to depart from their Alliance with France, were always deaf to Sollicitations of that kind. Befides. they expected that on the Arrival of the French King, Pietra Santa, and Sarzana would be restored them; which they could never hope to obtain by means of the Confederates. They had, moreover, fuch Confidence in their own Merit, for the Services they had rendered the Crown of France, that without giving themselves the Leisure to think on the present King's Temper and Politics, they took for granted

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he would not only restore Pifa, but put them in Possession of all Tuscany, Girolamo Savanorola flattered them in these Hopes, and predicted in his Sermons, that the Calamities of the Republic would be turned into Prosperity, and Increase of Dominion: Denouncing, at the same Time, terrible Judgments to the Court of Rome, and to the rest of the Italian Powers. Many judicious Persons despised both the Preacher and his Predictions; yet the Bulk of the People generally paid a great Regard to all he faid, and amongst them not a few of the most considerable Citizens; some out of Simplicity, some out of Ambition, and others out of Fear. It was therefore no Wonder that the Allies should be so defirous to compel the Florentines to break an Alliance that was so prejudicial to the common Cause; especially as it did not feem to be attended with many Difficulties. For the Florentines were obnoxious to their Neighbours, and could have no Hopes of any present Assistance from the King of France; who would hardly give himself any Concern for their Affairs, when,

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A. D. 1496

when, with so much Indolence, he had abandoned his own natural Subjects at Naples; and they were so drained of Money by this War, which had now lasted Three Years, that they were in no Condition to carry it on much longer.

extend his Florie, and therefore loft a THE Operations of this Year's Campaign in the Pisan were remarkable only for the Regularity of the military Exploits, and Refolution on both Sides for their Armies were not numerous. nor the Places they belieged of any Note; being only fome Caftles, hardly known to Foreigners by their Names: and of themselves of little Consequence. Shortly after the Citadel had been given up to the Pilans, and before the Arrival of the Venetian Succours, the Florentines took the Castle of Buti, and fet down before Calci; where, to fecure a Pass for Provisions, they erected a Fort on Mont Dolorofa; but the Guard they had posted was surprised and cut to Pieces: Not long after the Pifans fallied out and furprised Francesco Secco, who, with a good Body of Horse, was posted in the Suburbs

A. D. Suburbs of Buti, to protect the Convoys of Provisions that were constantly going to Ercole Bentivoglio, who, with the Florentine Foot, was belieging a little Fort on the Verrucola. Francesco, pent up amongst the Houses, had no Room to extend his Horse, and therefore lost a good Number of them. These Advantages had raised the Spirits of the Pisans, which still increased on the Approach of the Venetians no mount old than , she freit Amnica were not numerouls,

ERCOLE BENTIVOGLIO had his Head Quarters in the Castle of Bientina, when the first Column of the Venetian Forces, under Gianpagolio Manfroni, arrived at Vico Pisano, within Two Miles of that Place. Ercole drew out his Troops, but at the Approach of the Venetians, feigning Fear, retired again into Bientina. After he had feveral Days amused the Enemy in this Manner, when he found that by his Stratagem he had taught them to think themselves secure, he took an Opportunity of drawing them into an Ambush, where they were totally defeated, most of them killed on the Spot, and the rest pursued Euburbs

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THE WARS IN ITALY. as far as the Walls of Vico Pisano. But A. D. 1496. the Joy of this Victory was allayed by the Loss of Francesco Secco, who had Francesco joined Ercole that Morning, and was Secco killed by a Musket Shot *. The Remainder of the Venetians, with Eight Hundred Stradiotti, foon arrived, under the Conduct of the Proveditor Giustiniano Morefino. Bentivoglio now finding himfelf inferior, but not willing to quit the Field, kept on the Defensive, and possessing himself of a very strong Post, between the Castle of Pontadera and the River

Era, continually harraffed the Enemy,

and prevented them, after they had taken

Castel Buti, which surrendered at Discre-

tion, from getting Possession of any other

Place. He had also the good Fortune to

defeat Three Hundred of their Stradiotti,

who were ravaging the Country about

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Valdera.

THE Florentines were, at this Juncture, infested also by the Senese, who, encou-

^{*} Both Giowio and Bembo ascribe the Glory of this Action to Francesco Secco, without so much as mentioning Bentivoglip.

of Provisions that were constantly going to Ercole Bentivoglio, who, with the Florentine Foot, was besieging a little Fort on the Verrucola. Francesco, pent up amongst the Houses, had no Room to extend his Horse, and therefore lost a good Number of them. These Advantages had raised the Spirits of the Pisans, which still increased on the Approach of the Venetians.

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A. D. 1496.

raged by the Allies, took this Opportunity to fend the Lord of Piombono and Giovanni Savelli, at the Head of some Troops, against them. They came as far as the Foot of Valiano Bridge; but on hearing that Rinuccio da Moriano was moving towards them, they retired in great Diforder, leaving behind part of their Artillery. The Florentine Army, being reinforced by the Troops under Rinuccio, was not inferior to the Enemy; and having now fecured all about Valiano, the War was confined amongst the Forts on the Hills; where the Inhabitants, having an Affection for the Pisans, and always running in to their Affistance when any Skirmishes happened, the Florentines were commonly worsted. By the Favour of some of their People in Ponte Sacco, the Pisans were let into that Caftle, where they stripped and plundered a Regiment of Men at Arms, and took Lodovico da Marciano Prisoner; after which they abandoned the Place, which would have been difficult to preserve, and posted themselves on the Hills; over which the Convoys of Provisions that supplied Pisa were obliged to pass. They also fortified

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fortified all the Castles in that District, in A. D. order to cut off the Communication between Livorno and the Enemies Camp. One of these little Forts became memorable by an unfortunate Accident. The Florentines having formed a Design to attack Sojano, had broke up all the Roads leading to it from the River Cursino, and had posted Men on the Banks to prevent all Succours. When every Thingwas ready for opening the Siege, Piero Capponi, the Florentine Commissary, was shot through the Head by a Musket Ball from the Piero Cap-

Place, as he was giving Orders to play poni killed

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the Artillery: Too ignoble a Death for so brave a Commander; who, if destined to meet his Fate in the Field, deserved to sall in some more considerable Action, for the taking of this mean Place was of little Importance. On this melancholy Accident the Siege was raised. The Florentines were also obliged to send Forces into the Lunegiana, which came time enough to save the Verrucola, besieged by the Genoese and the Marquisses of Malespina *.

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^{*} The Marquisses of Malespina had of long time been Sovereigns

116 1. D. 1496.

THE Pilans, for some Months past, had been able to cope with the Florentines; not only because they had been joined by great Numbers of Men, that came out of their own Villages, who were trained and mustered, and by doing constant Duty, were become good Soldiers, but had also received confiderable Supplies both of Horse and Foot from Lodovico, and from the Venetians; the last, indeed, far exceeded the Number of the former, who daily diminished for Want of Pay; for which Reason the Venetians thought it necessary to send another Recruit of One Hundred Lances and Six light Gallies full of Provisions. provident Senate spared no Expence that was required to protect Pifa, and to gain the Good-will of the Inhabitants; who daily grew cooler in their Affections for the Duke of Milan, for his neglecting

Sovereigns of great part of the Lunegiana. Mertio Justone, of a noble Roman Family, was the first that settled there; from Martii their Name was changed to Malespina, for Reasons given in the History of Milan, and more particularly by Porcacchi.

117 A. D. 1496.

the Payment of his Forces, and for acting with fo much Inconstancy. Sometimes, for Example, he would feem very follicitous for their Welfare, and at others fo indifferent, that they began to suspect, that it was at his Instance Giovanni Bentivoglio had not attacked the Florentines according to the Orders fent him by the Allies. Bentivoglio alledged, that Lodovice had not provided him with Money according to Engagement; which the Pisans thought proceeded either out of Avarice, or rather, that he defigned to chastise, but not totally depress the Florentines; which, indeed, plainly now appeared by proposing Maximilian's Journey to Pisa.

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MAXIMILIAN having fixed his Resolution to visit Pisa, sent two Ambassadors to Florence, to notify, that he had thought proper to pass into Italy, before he undertook a War against the Insidels; that he might first make and establish Peace amongst the Italian Potentates. He therefore required, that in concert with the rest of the Confederates,

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A. D. 1496.

they would unite in the Defence of their Country; and if that was not their Intention, he infifted on their declaring That he was refolved to themselves. make Use of his Imperial Authority in regard to Pisa, and would be the sole Judge of their Differences with the Pifans. In the mean time he enjoined them to defift from all Hostilities till his Arrival, as he was fure would be done on the Part of the Pifans, to whom he had fent the fame Orders; enforcing all with many fmooth Protestations of his Honour, and of his Refolution to decide according to the strictest Rules of Justice. The Answer was, 'That they highly commended his Majesty's good Intentions; that they had a great Opinion of his Uprightness; and would foon fignify to him their Refolutions.

In the mean time the Venetians, to prevent either Maximilian or Lodovico from seizing on Pisa, with the Consent of the Pisans, immediately sent thither Annibale Bentivoglio, with One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and soon after a Squadron of Stradiotti, and One Thousand

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A. D. 1496.

fand Foot; and they declared to Lodovich, that as their Republic ever protected free Cities, they had fent this Reinforcement to the Pisans, to enable them to recover the rest of their Forts on the Hills that were in the Possession of the Florentines. This Memorial had the desired Effect.

This Readiness of the Venetians endeared them to the Pisans, who were never refused any of their Demands; which, indeed, were many and frequent, for Provisions, Ammunition, Troops, and Money. They were so captivated with the Senate for so heartily espousing their Cause, that all the Considence and Esteem they formerly had in the Duke of Milan, were now transferred to the Venetians; yet they sollicited the Emperor to hasten his March, in hopes that their own Forces, united to his, might make them Masters of Livorno.

On the other Hand the Florentines laboured under a Scarcity of all Necessaries, and were very apprehensive that they should not be able to resist so powerful

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A. D. 1496.

an Alliance. They had not a fingle Italian Prince in their Interest; and they were informed by their Agents in France, that there was no Hopes of any Affistance from the King, whom they had earnestly pressed to help them, at least with a Sum of Money. All the Comfort they had in their Misfortunes was, that they were under no Apprehensions from Piero de Medici: For the Allies had agreed in Council not to mention his Name; having found by Experience, that the Fear of his Restoration had no other Effect than to unite them more firmly in the Preservation of their Liberties.

Lopovico all this while, under Dread of the Venetian Power, was heartening the Florentines, and perfuading them to leave all their Disputes to the Decision of the King of the Romans. He remonstrated the Danger they would be exposed to, if they refused this Expedient; which was the only one that could wrest Pisa from the Venetians, and reinstate them in that Dominion, which was necessary for the Safety of Italy, and was the Defire of the

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King of Spain, and agreeable to the Sen- A. D. timents of the Confederates. But the Florentines, neither moved with these vain and infidious Counfels, nor in the least terrified with the impending Difficulties and Dangers, refolved to give no farther Answer to Casar, nor leave any thing to his Determination, unless they were first put in Possession of Pisa; for they put no Confidence in his Favour, nor flood in Fear of his Authority: It being well known, that having neither Forces nor Money, he acted as the Duke of Milan directed him; and as they faw no Disposition in the Venetians to quit Pisa, they ordered Liverno to be well fortified; and affembled all their Troops in the Neighbourhood of Pifa. That they might not, however, feem averse to Peace, and to endeavour to gain Maximilian, they fent Ambassadors to him at Genoa; whose The Flo-Instructions were to let him know, that fend Amany fort of Declaration on their Part was to Maxineedless; fince the Reverence they had milian. for his Name, was sufficient to make them comply with any thing he should defire of them; that to attain the laudable

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A. D. 1496.

Refolution he had taken of giving Peace to Italy, nothing could be more conducive than the immediate Restoration of Pifa to the Florentines: For from this Root fprung all the Measures that occasioned so much Uneafiness to himself, and to the Allies; that Pisa was the Motive that encouraged a certain Power, meaning the Venetians, to aspire to the Dominion of all Italy; that it would cast an Imputation on his Justice, and was besides contrary to the Imperial Laws, to expect a Treaty on any other Footing than an immediate Restoration of an unjust and violent Seizure: Concluding, that if by his Majesty's Influence and Authority they should be reinstated in the Dominion of Pifa, they were ready to make any Declaration conformable to his Defire; and, confiding in his Justice, were willing then to be determined by him in all their Rights.

CÆSAR was no ways pleased with this Ambassy: He expected that, on his promising to reinstate them after a limited Time in the Dominion of Pisa, they should

should have immediately acceded to the A. D. League; and therefore returned the Ambassadors no Answer till the Instant he was getting on board a Ship in the Mole of Genoa, when he turned to them, and faid, They might know his Mind from the Pope's Legate in that City. The Legate referred them to Lodovico, who had attended the Emperor to Tortona, and was returned to Milan, whither the Ambaffadors repaired. But whilft they were waiting for an Audience, they received an Express from Florence, where the Refult of their Ambassy was already known, with Orders to return, without conferring with the Duke. So that when they were admitted to Lodovico's Presence, they only faid, ' That on account of the Friendship that subsisted between his Highness and their Republic, they thought it their Duty not to pass through his Dominions without paying him their Respects in Person.'

THE Duke, on a Supposition they were come to receive Cæsar's Answer, in order to make a Shew, as he did on all Occa-

A. D. Occasions, of his Eloquence and political 1496. Artifices, had fummoned the Ambaffadors

Lodovico baffled by rentine Ambaffadors.

of the Allies to be present at this Meeting; intending to make himself merry with his the Flo- Neighbours Calamities. He could not diffemble his Surprize and Confusion at this Compliment of the Ambassadors; and therefore asked them, 'What Answer they had received from Casar?' They replied, ' That according to the Laws of their Republic, they were not allowed to difcourse on the Subject of their Ambassy to any other Prince, but to him to whom they were delegated.' Lodovico, in great Agitation, faid, 'If I should give you his Answer, which you know he has intrusted me with, I suppose then you would not hear it?' They replied, 'That to hear was not prohibited, nor could they hinder any body from speaking.' ' Then, fays the Duke, I am willing to tell it you; but I cannot, unless you let me know what you faid to him.' They answered, ' That was not allowed them for the same Reasons they had before given; and befides, it would be fuperfluous, because Casar could not employ any

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125 A. D. 1496.

any one to give an Answer, without communicating to the same Person what had been demanded.' Lodovico was not able any longer to dissemble his Disappointment; he abruptly dismissed the Assembly, and became himself the Subject of those Sneers he intended to put on the Florentine Ministers.

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CÆSAR embarked on board the Gallies that the Venetians kept on the Tuscan Seas, and was attended by a good Fleet of Genoese Vessels, well equipped, but with few Troops; there being only One Thoufand German Foot on board. He landed at Porto Spezie; from whence he proceeded to Pisa by Land, where he met Five Hundred Horse, and assembled another Thousand German Foot, that had marched thither by Land; with these he joined Lodovico's Forces and some Venetian Troops, with an Intent to befiege Livorno both by Land and Sea. He ordered a Detachment of Venetians to march to the Bridge of Sacco, to prevent the Florentines, who were not very numerous, from infulting Pifa, or relieving Livorno. For this

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126

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this last Place the Republic was in no fort of Concern, fince it was extremely well provided with Men and Ammunition, and they daily expected a Reinforcement from Provence: For as the French Soldiery were in great Esteem, to give a greater Reputation to their Army, they had, with the King's Leave, inlifted Monf. d'Albigeois, one of his Officers, with One Hundred Lances, and One Thousand Swifs and Gascon Foot; who were to be transported to Livorno on board a Fleet of Veffels they had hired, and loaded with Wheat, of which there was a great Scarcity in Tufcany. This Succour, when first follicited, was not intended against Casar; and was with much Difficulty brought over: For d'Albigeois and his Men, when all was ready, refused to go on board; and only Six Hundred embarked. This Fleet confifted of Five Ships and fome Galleons, and a large Ship of Normandy *, that was bound for Gaeta with a Supply of Men and Provisions.

^{*} Vitellozio and Carlo Orfini were fent with the Normanda, laden with French Money: This Ship was of Twelve Hundred Tons Burthen, and the others about Four Hundred. Giovio and Bembo.

127 A. D.

1496.

Provisions. There never was a Relief more feasonable; for the very Day that Casar had fent a Pisan Commissary to Liverno, with a strong Party of Pioneers, to make Bridges and mend the Roads, for the eafy Passage of the Army, this Fleet appeared under fail with a prosperous Wind, and in no Danger of being attacked by Maximilian's Ships, which were retired under the Melora * (a Rock famous for the entire Overthrow and Destruction of the Pifan Fleet by the Genoese) and got safe into Port, without any other Damage than the Loss of one Galleon, laden with Corn, that feparated from the rest, and was taken. This gave great Courage to the Livornefe, and added Spirits to the Florentines; who now feemed to think themfelves under the immediate Care of Heaven, as Savanarola had, for feveral Daysbefore, been preaching to the terrified Populace:

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^{*} This Defeat of the Pisans was that perhaps in 1284, at a Place called Veromica, Three Miles from the Port. Morosini the Podesta of Pisa, and such a Number of Noblemen were taken, that the Tuscans used to say, that if any one wanted to see Pisa, he must go to Genoa. Giustiniani, lib. 3.

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Bur this did not prevent Maximilian from opening the Siege; he sent Five Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand Horse, and Four Thousand Foot by Land; and went himself on board the Gallies to the Mouth of the Lake that lies between Pisa and Livorno. He gave Orders to Count Gajazzo, whom the Duke of Milan had fent to attend him, to make a Breach on one Side of the Town, and posted himself on the other with some Difficulty, on account of the Artillery that played very briskly upon him from the Town. His first Attempt was on the Port, to obtain which he drew his Men on the Side of the Fountain, and began to fire on Magnano, that was strongly The Besieged razed the Palafortified. zotto, and the little Tower near the Sea, as it could not be defended, and if taken might endanger the new Tower. Maximilian then ordered his Vessels to approach the Shore, which they did very fafely: For no Intreaties could prevail with the Masters of the French Ships, after they had landed the Men and the Corn, to remain

129

remain with them some time; and the A. D. · Normanda had already proceeded to Gaeta. The Attack on Magnano, which was made with an Intent to facilitate the Siege on the Sea Side, proved ineffectual: The Cannon of the Besiegers did little Damage; and the frequent Sallies annoyed them. But Destiny had ordered, that the Hopes of the Florentines, which began with the Winds, should also with their Favour be compleated: For a fudden Storm arose, that shattered the Enemies Fleet, and drove to Sea the Grimalda, a Ship full of Artillery, that had brought Cæfar from Genoa; which, after toffing to and fro for several Hours, was at last overset opposite to the new Rock, with the Loss of its Artillery, and all the Men; and the other Veffels were fo damaged, and dispersed, that they were rendered useless for the Siege. The Venetians also lost Two Ships in this Storm; and in the Confusion the Livornese recovered the Galleon that had been taken in coming from Provence.

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This Accident quite disheartened

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A. D. Maximilian; who, after feveral Con1496, fultations, determined to raise the Siege,
The Siege and undertake some other Exploit. He
of Liver. drew off, therefore, to Vice Pisane, and

no raised. ordered a Bridge to be laid on the River Arno, between Cascina and Vico, and another on the Cilecchio: But when every body expected he would pass these Bridges, he fuddenly directed his March towards Milan; having done no other Feat in Tuscany, than that of pillaging with Four Hundred Horse the obscure Village of Bolgheri, in the Marshes of Pisa. Excuse he made for this strange Retreat was, that the Venetians mistrusting him, had refused to withdraw their Forces from Pisa, and had not paid him all their Quota of the Seventy Thousand Ducats. He complained every where of this bad Usage; but at the same time extremely commended the Conduct of Lodovico. At Pavia he held a great Council, and declared his Resolution of returning into Germany; but proposed afterwards to remain in Italy all the Winter, with One Thousand Horse, and Two Thousand Foot; provided he was allowed every Month

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Month Twenty-two Thousand Florins of A.D. the Rhine. He next proceeded to the Lo-1496. mellina, to wait there for the Answer of the Venetians; from whence, whilst every one expected he would have gone to Milan, which had been a prudent Step, as it afterwards appeared, changing his Mind, he returned to Cusago, a Place within Six Miles of that Capital; then, without acquainting the Duke, or any one, he went fuddenly to Como; where he was told that the Pope's Legate was arrived, tho' he had been ordered not to follow him; at which, rifing from Dinner, he embarked in fuch Hafte, that the Legate had hardly Time to speak a few Words to him at the Head of the Boat before he put off. Maximilian told him, that his Affairs called him into Germany, At Bell but that he should foon return. Agio *, on the Lake of Como, he was informed, that the Venetians had agreed to

* Bell' Agio is a delicious Promontory in the Lake of Como; on the Top there was a famous Stone Castle, which in 1357 was demolished by Gio. Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, because it was a Receptacle for Thieves and Affassins. The Family of the Sfondrati have now a magnificent Palace on that Spot.

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his Proposal; on which he made them believe he would return to Milan. But a few Days after, with his usual Instability, leaving behind the most part of his Troops, he returned into Germany, after giving a mean Idea of his Power to the Italians, who for a long Time before had not seen an Emperor at the Head of an Army in their Country.

THE Departure of Maximilian made Lodovico despair of getting Possession of Pisa, or expelling from thence the Venetians; unless some unforeseen Accident should present itself. He therefore recalled his Troops, comforting himself in this Missortune, that the Venetians would have the whole Weight of that War on their Hands: And he was not without Hopes, that this might be the Cause of something turning out to his Advantage.

THE Duke's Forces being withdrawn, the Florentines, by their Superiority, were enabled to act offensively, and immediately possessed themselves of all the Castles

A. D.

Castles that were on the Hills; which obliged the Venetians to increase their Troops, fo as to have in the whole Four Hundred Lances, Seven Hundred Light-Horse, and Two Thousand Foot...

THE War in the Kingdom of Naples Taranto was all this while drawing to a Conclusion: furrenders for the City of Taranto, with the Castles, to Federigo oppressed by Famine, surrendered to the Venetians, who had befieged it with their Fleet. The Senate did not care to part with this Acquisition; but to quell the Murmurs of the People, who suspected that they intended to annex it to their own Dominions, at the Instances of the Pope and the King of Spain, they at last delivered it up to Federigo.

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THE French at Gaeta were informed how the Ship Normanda, that was coming to their Relief, after disengaging herself from fome Genoese Ships that had attacked her near Port Hercole, was in a violent Storm unfortunately cast away. At this The Nor-News they gave up all Hopes of keeping manda cast Gaeta, which was befieged by the young away.

King;

134

A. D. 1496.

King; for tho' they were supplied with a Sufficiency of Provisions for some Months, vet they had no Reason to think that their King would be more follicitous in affifting them, than he had been in preferving fo many other Towns, and fo great a Number of his Nobility. On these Considerations they fent to Aubigni, who, on account of some Disputes concerning the Gaeta sur-Evacuation of the Towns in Calabria, was still in the Kingdom; and through

renders.

his Means it was agreed, that they should give up the Town and Castle, and be permitted to transport themselves to France, with all their Effects.

King Charles's Genoa.

CHARLES was now freed from the Defign on Trouble of fuccouring the Kingdom of Naples; but vexed at his Loss and Miscarriage, he believed that he might, in fome Measure, retrieve his Honour, if he could possess himself of Genoa. He had a Dependance on his Friendship with Battistino Fregoso the former Doge, and with the Cardinal of St. Piero in Vincola. who was a Native of Savona; both Men of great Interest in their Country: The Dif-

135 A. D. 1496.

Discontent between Gianluigi del Fiesco and the Family of the Adorni, seemed to savour his Design. Moreover the Genoese were in general dissatisfied with the Duke of Milan, ever since he had been the Author of selling Pietra Santa to the Lucchese, preserably to themselves; and more so when they found out, that it was only to amuse them that he had given them Hopes the Venetians would prevail on the Lucchese to let them have it for a Sum of Money: A Thing he never intended.

Lodovico new Project, that, notwithstanding his sends Troops to Disgust with the Venetians, on account of Genea. their Conduct at Pisa, he resolved to make an Alliance with them; and to send to Genea the Horse and Foot that Maximilian had left in Italy: Which proved fortunate for those Troops, who would have been destitute of any Provision if this Accident had not happened.

WHILST this was in Agitation, the Pope thought he had a fair Opportunity

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of seizing the Estates of the Orfini, whilst the Heads of that Family were detained Prisoners at Naples. With this View, in the Beginning of the Year 1497, in the Confistory, he pronounced them Rebels, and declared their Estates confiscated, for entering into the French Service without his Permission: After which he attacked fome of their Towns, and ordered the Colonnas to seize on those that bordered on their Dominions *. Cardinal Ascanio gave great Encouragement to this Undertaking, both on account of his Friendship with the Colonna Family, and his Enmity to the Orfini. Lodovico also gave his Approbation; but the Venetians were diffatisfied, as being interested in the Welfare of the Orfini: Yet as they could not justify, with any colour of Reason, whatever Opposition they should make, and did not care, at this Juncture, to draw upon themselves the Pontiff's Anger, they feemed content; and permitted the Duke of Urbino, their Commander in Chief,

^{*} Alexander used to call the Roman Barons the Pope's Fetters. He laid hold of this Opportunity to humble the Orsini, which at the same Time enabled him to enrich his Children. Giovia.

to join the Pope's Forces, that were under A. D. the Duke of Candia, and had amongst them as Legate Cardinal da Luna of Pavia, a Dependant of Ascanio: Federigo also fent Fabritio Colonna to Alexander's Affistance. This Army, after taking feveral Towns, with little Opposition, invested Trivignano, which, after a vigorous Defence, furrendered at Discretion. But, during the Siege, Bartolomeo Alviano fallied out of Bracciano, and within Eight Miles of Rome, cut to Pieces Four Hundred Horse, that were escorting the heavy Cannon to the Ecclefiastical Army: And another Day, near the Cross of Montemari, he had like to have furprized Cardinal Valenza, as he was Hunting without the Walls of Rome; but he faved himself by getting into Trivignano. The Papalins * afterwards took Lifola, which furrendered after the Fort had fultained a short Battery; and now they were to compleat the War with the Reduction of Bracciano, in which lay all the Hopes of the Orfini. This Town, which was ftrong

^{*} The Pope's Army is called by the Historians the Ecclesiastic Army, the Papalins, and the Ecclesiastics.

A. D. strong before, had been lately repaired. and stored with Provisions; its Suburb was also fortified with a new raised Bastion in Front, and there was a numerous Garrison commanded by Alviano, who was young, brifk, and trained up in military Exercises; and by the small Specimens he had already given of his Conduct, no ways deceived those who prognosticated he would prove one of the best Captains of the Age. The Pope daily augmented his Army, and had lately inlifted Eight Hundred German Foot, of those that had ferved in the Kingdom of Naples.

SEVERAL Batteries were erected besieged against Bracciano, where the Besieged defended themselves very gallantly, and repaired, with great Diligence, the Breaches: Yet after some Days they were compelled to quit the Suburb, which the Ecclesiastic Forces took Possession of, and immediately made an Attack on the Town: But notwithstanding they had fixed their Standard on the Walls, they were beaten off with great Slaughter, and Antonello Savello was wounded in the Action. In another

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Attack the Besieged behaved with equal A. D. Bravery, and repulfed the Papalins, who were obliged to retire after the Loss of above Two Hundred of their Men killed and disabled. The Honour of this Action was intirely attributed to Alviano; as also the Glory of fo noble a Defence: He kept his own People in perfect Order and Discipline, harrassed the Enemy both Day and Night, without giving them any Rest, and gained also great Applause by the following Stratagem: From Cervetri Alviano's he ordered a Party of Horse to ride out, Stratagem as it were to reconnoitre the Enemy's Camp; and whilft they, taking the Bait, in a diforderly Manner went to repel them, he fallied out, put to flight the Foot that guarded the Artillery, and brought back some small Pieces with him into Bracciano. But notwithstanding these Advantages, it was impossible for that Town to hold out without a timely Succour; on which all Alviano's Hopes depended.

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CARLO ORSINI and Vitellozzo being both of the Guelf Party, were firmly by that Tye united. They first procured Money

A. D. Money from the French King, to recruit and get together their broken Regiments, that had fuffered, and been dispersed over the Kingdom of Naples; then took the Opportunity of some Provence Vessels bound for Italy, and were landed at Legborn. Carlo Orfini went to Soriano to muster his old Soldiers, and the Friends and Partifans of his Family. Vitellozzo went on the same Errand to Citta di Castello, a Town under his Dominion, where he affembled his veteran Soldiers and Peafants, and joyned them with Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Eighteen Hundred Foot he had brought with him, and placing his Artillery on French Carriages, he joined Carlo at Soriano.

The Siege ing they might be inclosed between this of Brac- Army and Bracciano, raised the Siege; and sent the heavy Artillery into Anguillara. And lest the Enemy should ravage all the Country, as they had already done some Villages, they marched till they came up to them between Soriano and Bassano, where there happened a smart En-

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Engagement that lasted several Hours. Francesco Orsini was at the Beginning of the Action taken Prisoner; but at last the Pope's Troops were put to Flight, after The Ecclefiaftics they had lost above Five Hundred Men, defeated. with all their Artillery and Baggage. The Duke of Urbino, Gian Piero di Gonzaga, Count Nugolara, and feveral Persons of Distinction were taken Prisoners. The Duke of Candia was flightly wounded in the Face, and faved himself with the Legate, and Fabritio Colonna in Ronciglione. Vitellozzo had the Glory of this Victory; his Foot had been disciplined under him. and his Brothers according to the Foreign Manner; and he had provided Pikes two Foot longer than usual, which gave him a great Advantage over the Enemy; who, by this new Invention, received mortal Stabs without being able to reach their Adversaries. The gaining of this Battle was the more glorious for him, as there were in the Pope's Army Eight Hundred German Foot, who had created a Terror in the Italians ever fince the Passage of Charles VIII.

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A. D. 1497.

AFTER this Victory, the Conquerors began to make Incursions all over the Country on this Side the Tyber, without any Controll; and some passed the River at Monte Rotondo, and scoured the only Road wherein the Papalins thought themselves secure. The Pope lost no Time in recruiting his Forces; and fent to Naples for Gonsalvo and Prospero Colonna to come to his Affistance. But not long after this Action, the Venetians and Spaniards interposed their good Offices; the first out of Love to the Orfini; and the last, for fear these Disturbances might create others of greater Consequence, and prove dangerous to the League. A Peace then was concluded, which was very agreeable to the Pope, who found himself immerged in a vast Expence, to which he was natu-

Peace between the rally averse; and no less to the Orsini,
Pope and who having neither Money, nor Allies of
the Orsini.
any great Importance, knew they must,
fooner or later, be over-powered.

The THE Articles imported, That the Articles. Or fini should be allowed to continue in the

the French Service, till the Time they A. D. had agreed was expired; but on Condition they should not take up Arms against the Holy See. That all the Places taken from them should be restored; for which they should pay Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Pope, Thirty Thousand down, and the Remainder in Eight Months. That Federigo should release Gian Giordano, and Pagolo Orfini : As for Virginio, he died in Castel dell' Uovo, a few Days before, of a Fever; or, as some said, of Poison. That San Severino, Anguillara, and Cervetri, should be deposited in the Hands of Ascanio, till the Remainder of the Money was paid. All the Prisoners taken at the Battle of Soriano should be released, except the Duke of Urbino: This Condition was infifted on by the Pope, because he knew the Orsini had it not in their Power to pay him the Money stipulated any other Way than by this Duke's Ranfom; which, as afterwards agreed, was to be Forty Thonfand Ducats; on Condition also, that Pagolo Vitelli, who was taken Prisoner at Atella by the Marquis of Mantua, should

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THE HISTORY OF 144

A. D. be released without paying any thing for his Ranfom.

Gonfalvo takes Oftia.

As foon as the Pope had terminated this inglorious War, and had paid the Troops which had been conducted by Gonfalvo, he fent him with the same Forces to beliege Oftia, that held out for the Cardinal of St. Piero in Vincola. But as foon as the Artillery began to play, the Castle surrendered at Discretion. After which Gonsalvo entered Rome in a triumphant Manner, accompanied with One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light-Horse, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, all Spaniards; with the Governor of the Castle, who went foremost in the Triumph. Nature of a Prisoner, but was soon after fet at Liberty. Gonsalvo was met by several Prelates, by the Pope's Houshold, and by all the Cardinals; every one crowding to

fee a General whose Name was rendered

fo famous. He was conducted to the

Pope fitting in Confistory, who received

him with great Joy, and presented him

with the Rose, which is given yearly to

some Person of Distinction, as a Token

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145 A. D. 1497.

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of great Esteem and Honour. Gonsalvo then returned to Federigo, who was employed in taking from the Presect of Rome all the Towns that the King of France had given him, and which had belonged to the Marquis of Pescara. He took Sora and Arci, but not their Forts. He then laid Siege to Gugliena, for he already had got by Treaty the State of Count Uliveto, before he sold the Dutchy of Sora to the Presect.

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In the Midst of all this Prosperity, Federigo was not without Anxieties and Troubles, that were occasioned him as well by his Friends, (for Gonsalvo kept part of Calabria in the King of Spain's Name) as from his reconciled Enemies. The Prince of Bisignano one Night coming out of Castel Nuovo, was dangerously wounded by a certain Greek: The Prince of Salerno was fully persuaded that this was done by the King's Order, in Revenge of his former Actions; nor would he dissemble his Suspicion, but immediately quitted Naples, and went to Salerno. And tho' the King ordered the Greek, that

THE HISTORY OF

146 A. D. 1497.

was in Prison, to be conveyed to him, with a Permission to chastise him in the severest Manner he thought proper; acquainting him at the same Time, that this Fact was perpetrated by the Greek, to revenge an Affront the Prince of Bifignano had some Years before given him in the Person of his Wife; yet, as it is not an easy Matter, after long and deep Enmities, to establish a solid Friendship, which is commonly prevented either by Suspicion, or Desire of Revenge; so the Prince could never bring himself, after this, to trust to Federigo. The French, who were still in Possession of Mont St. Angelo, and a few other strong Places, observing these Discontents, made greater Efforts to maintain themselves, not without Hopes, that some Accident might turn out in their Favour.

In Lombardy there was Reason to apprehend great Calamities and Changes of Government, from the Motions of the French, who were now foon expected, as they had no Obstruction from Spain. The Skirmishes that happened of late on. those

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Frontiers, hardly deferved the A. D. Name of a War; and nothing confiderable 1497. was transacted. After the French had taken and burnt the Village of Sals, a Treaty was proposed; and to facilitate the Conclusion of it, a Suspension of Arms was agreed on for Two Months, in Hopes of fettling, in that Time, all Differences. This gave Charles an Opportunity of attending to the Affairs of Genoa and Savona. He had already fent to Asti One Thousand Lances, Three Thousand Swifs, and the same Number of Gascons, and given Orders to Trivulzio, his Lieutenant in Italy, to act in concert with Battistino and Vincola. The Duke of Orleans was to Expedia follow with a great Army, and was per-tion amitted to conquer the Dukedom of Milan Genoa. for himself. To facilitate the Expedition against Genoa, the King sent Ottaviano Fregoso to Florence, requiring of that Republic, that they would attack the Lunigiana and the Eastern Riviera; whilst, at the same Time, Pagolo Battista Fregoso, with Six Gallies, annoyed the Western.

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A. D. 1497.

THESE Defigns, when known to the Duke of Milan, affected him with fo great a Terror, (especially as he was not fufficiently prepared, nor had yet received the Succours from the Venetians) that if the Expedition had been properly conducted, it might have produced important Effects; and perhaps sooner in the Milanese than at Genoa: For through the Mediation of Lodovico, all Differences between Gianluigi Fiesco and the Adorni had been composed, and the State had provided a good Infantry, and put to Sea a large Fleet, at the Charge of the Venetians and Lodovico, which was reinforced with Six Gallies fent by Federigo. Pope retained the Name of a Confederate, but was fo more in Appearance than in Reality; for he would not contribute any thing towards the Expence, either for the Land or Sea-Service.

THE Result of this Expedition was, that Battistino and Trivulzio marched to Novi, a Town from whence Battistino had been expelled by Lodovico, but where

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he still kept Possession of the Castle. A. D. Count Gajazzo was Governor of Novi, 1497. and the Garrison confisted of Sixty Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light-Horfe, and Five Hundred Foot; but at the Approach of Battistino, they all retired to Saravalle. The Acquisition of Novi gave Novi great Repute to the Fugitives, not only taken. for its being a large Place, and of Note, but also for its Situation, because it stopped. the Passage from Milan to Genoa, and commanded the neighbouring Country. Battistino soon after took several Places in that Neighbourhood, whilst the Cardinal, with Two Hundred Lances and Three Thousand Foot, made himself Master of Ventimiglia, and approached Savona; but finding no Commotions in that City, and being informed that Giovanni Adorno was coming up with a strong Body, he retired to Altare, a Village belonging to the Marquis of Monferrato, Eight Miles distant from Savona.

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THERE was a greater Appearance of Success from the Expedition conducted by Trivulzio. That General was defirous

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A. D. to give some Cause for commencing the War in the Dukedom of Milan; and therefore, tho' he had the King's positive Orders, not to commit any Hostility against that State, until the Affair of Trivulzio Genoa was determined; yet, without any takes Bosco Regard to those Instructions, he surprised

the important Castle of Bosco in the Territory of Alexandria. He alledged in his Iustification, that it was necessary to have the Command of that Fort, to secure the French, who were posted in the Riviera, from being harraffed in their Quarters by Detachments from the Milanese, which might otherwise make their Way through Alexandria into the Territories of Genoa. To pay, however, some Regard to his Majesty's Orders, he made no further Progress in the Dutchy, by which he lost very fine Opportunities: For all the Country round about was in a Ferment after the taking of Bosco; some out of Fear, and others from a Defire of Change; and Lodovico had but Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Six Thousand Foot in those Parts. Galeazzo da San Severino declared he could not pretend to preferve Alexan-

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and Lodovico, no less fearful at this Juncture than he was by Nature in all apparent Dangers, was treating with the Duke of Ferrara to use his Interest with the King of France, to restore him to his Friendship.

But the Inactivity of Trivulzio at Bosco and Novi, gave Time to Lodovico to provide for himself; and the Venetians, who thought it their Interest to assist the Duke on this Occasion, had already sent Fisteen Hundred Soldiers to Genoa, and now they ordered a new and large Supply of Light-Horse to march for Alexandria; they also commanded their General Count Pitigliano, (for the Marquis of Mantua had resigned) to advance with the best part of their Forces and protect the Milanese.

THE French Expedition against Genoa, undertaken with so much Warmth, came to nothing, Battistino had no Intelligence from his Partisans in that City, where the Number of Troops kept the People K 4 quiet,

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151

1497-

quiet, and prevented any Insurrection: So he marched towards Novi, and joined Trivulzio, laying the Blame of his Miscarriage on the Florentines, who had not, as was expected, attacked the Eastern Riviera. They indeed judged it imprudent to intangle themselves in a War, before the French were on their March with a powerful Army, which might give them a surer Prospect of Success.

As for Vincola, he joined Trivulzio with his Troops, after plundering a few Villages belonging to the Marquis of Finale, because he had favoured the Savonese: And this was all he performed in these Quarters.

WHEN the French had got all their Forces united, they made some Excursions towards Castellaccio, a Place near Bosco, lately fortified by Lodovico's Order. The Army of the Allies increased daily about Alexandria, whilst the French begun to find Money and Provisions very scarce; which, together with a Stubbornness Trivulzio found in his Officers, made

153 A. D. him refolve, after leaving Garrisons in 1497-Novi and Bosco, to retire with his Army towards Afti. to All. And the he sudput beat I in

IT was thought that the Division of the French Army, into fo many different Corps, was the Occasion of their bad Success; and that they might have done better, if at once they had invested Genoa with all their Strength: For the Diffentions of Parties ran there very high, and the Disaffection to the Duke, on account of the State of Pietra Santa, was very great; befides, part of the German Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, sent thither by Lodovico, after a short Stay, were returned into Germany. But as there were some of the great Men in France that difliked the Italian Expedition, it is not improbable, that those who the Year before obstructed the Provisions for Naples, did now act in the same Manner with Regard to Genoa. And indeed it was reported, that the Duke of Bourbon, and others, even the Cardinal of St. Malo, took large Bribes from Lodovico, who for this Purpose raised new and heavy Taxes

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on his Subjects. But be this as it will, it is certain that the Duke of Orleans was ordered and pressed by the King to go to Asi. And tho' he had put himself in Readiness, he did not proceed; either because he doubted of the Continuation of the Preparations that were making; or, as some said, from his Unwillingness to leave the Kingdom, on account of the King's frequent Indispositions, as he was the Heir-apparent to the Crown.

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WHEN the King faw there was no farther Hopes of getting Genoa and Savona, he refumed his Negotiations with Spain. The only Obstacle that had retarded the Conclusion of a Truce was, that Charles would not confert, that the Affairs of Italy should be mentioned in the Articles's and the King of Spain thought his Honour was concerned in giving up that Point: But declared, at the same Time, that a general Truce was only made in order for a Peace; in the Conclusion of which, his Alliance with the Italians would of courfe be at an End. After several Expresses had been fent on both Sides, the Spaniards with

155

with their Quirks, according to Custom; over-reached the French; a Truce was figned for themselves, their Subjects and Dependants; and for any others that the King of Spain, or the King of France should name. This Truce was to begin the 5th of March for themselves, but not till Fifty Days after for those that should be named; and should continue in Force for all the Month of October enfuing. Each gave in the Names of those Italian Potentates that were in Alliance with them; and the King of Spain, amongst the rest, named Federigo and the Pisaus. It was also agreed, that a Congress should be held at Montpelier, where all the Allies might fend their Ambaffadors. The King of Spain gave Hopes, that in this Congress he would find out some Pretext that might give him a plausible Reason A Truce with Spain for uniting his Forces with those of Charles against the Italians, and also concertedo how they might divide the Kingdom of Naples between themselves.

THIS Truce was made between the two Kings without confulting the Allies: A.D. in Italy; it was, however, agreeable to the Italians, particularly to the Duke of Milan, who was overjoyed to have the War removed from his Dominions.

As the Ceffation of Arms was not to take Place in Italy before the 25th of April, Trivulzio and Battistino, in Conjunction with Serenon, returned into the Western Riviera with Five Thousand Men, and attacked Albenga, which they entered at the first Onset; but after the French had got into the Town, by breaking their Ranks, and roaming diforderly about the Streets, they were repulsed and beaten out by a leffer Number of their Enemies. Their next Enterprize was an Invasion of the Marquisate of Finale, in Hopes of coming to an Engagement with the Italian Army, which was expected to march for the Protection of that State: But they were disappointed, and nothing more of any Moment was undertaken; for the Officers disagreed more than ever amongst themselves, and as the Time of the Truce approached, no Care was taken to pay the Troops. The

157 A. D.

The Allies took the Advantage of these A. D. Disorders; Count Gajazzo returned to Novi, where he had been lately repulsed, took it, and recovered all the Towns that had been lost, except a few Villages in the Marquisate of Finale. During all these Disturbances, neither the Duke of Savoy, who was courted by all Parties, nor Constantino di Macedonia, Marquis of Monserrato, who had been confirmed in his Estates by the King of the Romans, would declare for either Side.

Nothing of Note had happened this Year between the Florentines and Pisans, tho' they continued at War, excepting that Four Hundred Light-Horse and Fisteen Hundred Foot of the Pisans, conducted by Gianpagolo Manfroni, attempted to re-take the Redoubt they had erected at the Bridge on the Lake, which had been taken from them when Maximilian was present. Count Rinuccio being informed of their Motions, came unexpectedly upon them with a Body of Horse by the Way of Livorno, when, as they imagined he had no other Way to come at them

A. D. 1497

them by Pontadera, soon dispersed them, and took a great Number of Prisoners. The Truce was favourable to the Pisans, but of no Benefit to the Florentines, who came into it with Regret; because their Enemies had now Time to take Breath and recover themselves, whilst they were obliged to be at the same Charges, being under Apprehensions of Piero de Medici, who was continually plotting; and jealous also of the Venetians, who continued to keep their Troops in the Pisan.

ALL Parties had now laid, or were laying down their Arms. The Duke of Milan, tho' he had full Reason to be satisfied with the Conduct of the Venetians in his late dangerous Situation, and had, on all Occasions, been very lavish in his Commendations of their Power and Policy, while he stood in Need of their Assistance, and praised the Wisdom of Giovanni Galeazzo the first Duke, for making them Executors to his last Will and Testament*; yet now being under

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^{*} He was so well satisfied with their Behaviour, that when the Venetian Proveditors came to Milan, he ordered

1497.

no Apprehensions, he could not bear the A. D. Thoughts that Pifa, which, with unwearied Industry and subtle Artifice, he had attempted to secure to himself, should fall under the Venetian Power and Government, as was very likely now to be the Case. Under this Anxiety he studied to bring about by Policy, what he had not been able to accomplish by Force of Arms. For this Purpose he applied himfelf to the Pope, and the Spanish Ministers, whom he knew to be jealous of the Venetian Power, and represented to them how necessary it was, for the Peace of Italy, to extinguish all the Hopes the French might entertain of the Affistance of the Florentines, which was no other Way to be compassed, than by restoring to them Pifa: Till that was done they would never cease solliciting the King of France to come into Italy; and whenever he arrived, his Union with that Republic could never fail of producing important Effects, as their rich and populous State lay in the very Heart of Italy.

it to be proclaimed, that, under great Penalties, the same Respect should be paid them, as was to his own Person. Bembo.

A. D. 1497.

As foon as the Venetians were apprifed of these Negotiations, they vehemently opposed them, as pernicious to the common Cause. They represented by their Ambassador the natural Propensity of the Florentines to the French, and that they were not to be trusted, tho' obliged in fo ample a Manner, unless they would put Livorno into the Hands of the Allies, for a Security of what was required of This he artfully mentioned, being well fatisfied they would never part with a Place of fuch Importance. It fell out as had been foreseen, for the Proposition was no fooner made than rejected. Which gave Occasion to the Ambassador to oppose the Point in Agitation with fo much Warmth, that both the Pope and Lodovico thought fit to drop it, not thinking it safe to disoblige the Venetians at that Juncture. They then took into Confideration another Method to induce the Florentines to quit the French Interest, which was by aiding and affifting the Family of the Medici. This was likely to be attended with Success, on account of

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THE WARS IN ITALY. 161 of the several Factions that reigned in 2.D. 1497.

WHEN the popular Authority was at A Plot afirst instituted, proper Care had not been gainst the taken to prevent the common People from times. breeding Disturbances. The Citizens of the first Rank, by this Regulation, were not fufficiently distinguished from the Plebeians; and these again were ever jealous of the Growth of Power in the former. It often happened, that some of the most ignorant of the People affisted at Confultations of Importance; and the fupreme Magistracy, that determined Matters of the last Moment, was changed every Month, which could not fail of breeding Confusion in the Government of the Republic *. To this must be added the great Authority of Savonarola, whose Auditors were all linked together in a Party,

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* We read in some Greek Commentaries, that two powerful Ladies were perpetually disturbing the public Tranquility with their Contentions for Superiority; that their Names were Democratia and Aristocratia; for the first was meant a Popular, by the second a Government of Optimates, or Nobles; no Wonder then that the Florentines should be ever at Variance, as they had introduced both these Forms into their Republic.

162

A. D. 1497.

Party, and amongst them were several eminent Citizens. As his Followers were more numerous than his Oppofers, a great Number of them were chosen for Magistrates, and put in Places of the greatest Trust. This Division occasioned many Resolutions that were prejudicial to the State: For, as it commonly happens in Governments where Parties run high, the public Good was not fo much regarded, as the Depression of the ad-These Disorders were the verse Party. more dangerous at this Juncture on account of the great Scarcity of Corn; which, with the Agitations of Mind produced by War, and the great Expences that attended it, contributed to render the half-starved Populace defirous of a Change. Piero de Medici, animated by these Opportunities, and encouraged by his Party, thought it a very hopeful Profpect of his Restoration; he was besides instigated privately by the Venetians, who had Reason to think these Commotions favourable to their Defign of keeping Pisa. With these Hopes he held a Confultation with his old Friend Cardinal San Severino,

163 A. D. 1497.

Severino, and Alviano, in which it was resolved, that Piero should make an Attempt to get secretly into Florence, where for his Encouragement, it was known that Bernardo del Nero, a Man of solid Parts, great Authority, and a Friend to his Family, had been created Gonfaloniere, and that there were several also in the highest Posts, who, he had Reason to think, were in the Interest of his Family.

THE Pope readily came into the Scheme, and pleased himself with the View of forcing the Florentines from the French Alliance by rough Treatment, since he had not been able to prevail on them by Acts of Beneficence. Lodovico seemed indifferent, as he could have no Reliance on a Republic so divided; tho he did not well relish Piero's Return, for fear he would remember the Affronts he had given him, and be directed by the Venetians.

Piero, with what Money he had of his own, or could borrow of his Friends, and affifted also, as was reported, with a L 2 good

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164

A. D. good Sum by the Venetians, fet out towards Siena, and was foon followed by Alviano, with some Horse and Foot, who moved only by Night, and through bye Roads, that his March might be a Secret to the Florentines. At Siena, by Means of Gian Giacomo and Pandolfo Petrucci, Men of Interest, and Friends of the Medici, Piero was privately supplied with fome Men; and two Days after the Truce had taken Place, in which the Senese were not named, he marched out of Siena with Six Hundred Horse and Four Hundred Foot, in Hopes of reaching Florence by Day-break undiscovered; where he expected to find all Things in a Hurry and Confusion on this Occasion. His Expectations were, perhaps, not illfounded, had not Fortune supplied the Negligence of his Adversaries: For being come in the Dusk of the Evening to Tavernelle, a little Village on the High-Road, with an Intent to march the best part of the Night, a fudden Storm arose, which came with fuch Violence, that he was not able to reach Florence till

late in the Morning; this gave his

Enemies

Enemies Time to take up Arms, whilst A. D. the greatest part of the Citizens, and those of the Populace who wished him well, remained unactive, waiting the Event. An Order was immediately iffued out, that the most powerful of the suspected Friends of Piero should be secured in the Town-House; and that the Troops should be got together, and fent to the Gate that leads to Siena; and Pagolo Vitelli, who was cafually come the Night before from Mantua, was defired to command them. Piero finding there was no Revolt, or Tumult in his Favour, and fearing that the Army would be ordered thither from Pisa, as indeed it was, after waiting Four Hours within Bow-shot of the Town, and not being able to force the Gate, he returned to Siena; where Alviano left Piero, and in his Return being let into the City of Todi by the Guelf Party, he plundered all the Houses of the Gibellins, and put to the Sword Fifty-three of the Heads of that Faction. On the other Hand, his Example was followed by Antonello Savello in Terni, and by Gateschi in Viterbo, with the Assistance of the Colonnas, L 3

A. D.

Colonnas, who there, and in the Neighbourhood, in Revenge massacred the Guelfs. The Pope took no Notice of these Barbarities, committed in his Dominions; abhorring to meddle in any thing that created him an Expence; befides, he was void of all Feeling for other People's Calamities; nor was he ever concerned at what might reflect on his Honour, if it did not interfere with his Interest or Pleasures. But he was feverely punished with domestic Misfortunes, and beheld in hisFamily fuch tragical Examples of Lust and Cruelty, as are not to be parallelled in the most savage Regions.

> FROM the very Beginning of his Pontificate, all his Thoughts were bent on aggrandizing the Duke of Candia, his eldest Son. The Cardinal of Valenza, whose Inclinations no way tended to the Church, was defirous of making a Figure in the military Way; and could not brook that the great Preferments in the Army should be given to his Brother. He was, besides, extremely jealous to find the Duke

A. D. 1497.

Duke should be better received by a young Lady they were both in Love with. Incited the by Lust and Ambition, the most proper Instruments when employed in the Execution of any horrid Action, he ordered him to be affaffinated one Evening as he was riding alone about Rome, and then to be thrown fecretly into the Tiber *. The Pope was over-whelmed with Grief at the News; for he was passionately fond of his Children, and not accustomed to feel the Strokes of adverse Fortune, it being well known, that from his Cradle to this Time, he had been prosperous in all his Undertakings. In a Confiftory held for this Purpose, with great Show of Compunction, and with Tears, he lamentably deplored his Mifery, and openly condemned his own Actions and manner of Life to that Time; protesting for the future he would take another Course, and appointed some Cardinals to affift him

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^{*} Giovio in the Life of Gonsalvo Ferrando writes, that Cæsar Borgia, after he had supped one Night with his Brother, procured an Assassin to cut his Throat, and then had him thrown into the Tiber at the Pillar by Campo Martio, from whence he was taken out two Days after by some Fishermen.

he had applied himself for some Days to the Execution of this laudable Purpose, the Author of the horrid Murder came to Light; which cleared Cardinal Ascania and the Orsini, who had been suspected.

Alexander being freed from these Suspicions and Fears, immediately wiped off his Tears, quitted his good Resolutions, and returned to the licentious Life to which he had been so long accustomed.

Piero's Plot difcovered.

AFTER Piero de Medici's Departure from Florence there arose new Troubles; for his Correspondence was discovered, and many noble Citizens were taken up and fent to Prison, whilst others got out of the Way. The whole Plot was laid open, and the Guilty were tried; Nicoló Ridolfi, Gianozzo Pucci, and Giovanni Cambi were condemned to die, for inviting Piero to come to Florence, and Lorenzo Tornabuoni for furnishing him with Money. Bernardo del Nero was thought to have the hardest Measure, who received Sentence of Death, only for being acquainted with the Plot, and not giving a proper Information.

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Information. But this Crime, according to the Florentine Statutes, is capital; and by the best Interpreters is judged to be so by the common Law. Besides, it was unpardonable in Bernardo; for as he was Gonfaloniere, he ought to have facrificed his private Friendship to the public Good. Nero's Relations appealed from this Sentence to the Grand Council of the People, in Virtue of a Law made for that Purpose, when the popular Government was new modelled; but the Promoters of his Condemnation affembled together, and, left the tender-hearted Multitude, out of Regard to his Age, Nobility, and Number of Relations, should be prevailed on to mitigate the Rigor of his Sentence, they obtained, that the Cause of this Appeal should be delegated to a small Number, who should determine whether Nero's Case came within the Act of Appeals. The Majority of this Committee were of Opinion, that the allowing of an Appeal would be making a Precedent by Authority for the Encouragement of Tumults; that they were authorised by the Statutes themselves, to dispense with Laws when

THE HISTORY OF

170

Members of the supreme Magistracy being threatened, were almost forced to set aside the Appeal, and, with the rest, sign a Warrant for his Execution that very Night. Savonarola was greatly censured at this Juncture, for not dissuading his Partisans from the Violation of a Law, that he himself with so much Warmth had espoused not long since, when he afferted it to be a falutary one, and almost necessary for the Preservation of Liberty.

ABOUT this Time Federigo King of Federigo is Naples received the Investiture from the invested Pope, and was crowned with great Soand crowned. lemnity. He afterwards took Mont St. Angelo by Composition; which had been bravely defended by Don Giuliano dell' Oreno. He also took Civita and other Towns from Carlo di Sanguine; and as foon as the Truce was expired, he expelled the Prefect of Rome out of the Kingdom; and then marched after the Prince of Salerno, who being befieged in the Castle of Diano, and having no Hopes of Affistance, submitted, and was

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171

A. D. 1497-

permitted to retire safe with his Effects; but he put into the Hands of the Prince of Bisignano all the Territories which remained in his Possession, on Condition that he should not deliver them up to Federigo, till he was informed of his safe Arrival at Senigaglia.

ABOUT the End of this Year, the Congress of Montpelier, which, on account of the immoderate Demands of the King of Spain, had been interrupted, was transferred to Narbonne, where it was opened again; but the fame Difficulties were started anew. For the King of France was determined not to agree to any Treaty in which Italy should be comprehended, and the King of Spain could not yield to give him free Leifure and Opportunity to fubdue that Country. He was, however, unwilling to enter into a War with France, on the other Side of the Alps, as it would cause him a great deal of Trouble without any Advantage. At last a Truce was agreed on, which was to continue in Force for Two Months after either of the Parties should give the other

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A. D. other Warning. None of the Italian Powers were comprehended in this Truce: and when the Sovereigns of Spain notified it to the Allies, they pretended to have followed the Example of Lodovico, who had made the Peace of Vercelli without confulting them. They complained, that after they had declared War against France at the Sollicitations of the Allies, and carried it on for Six Months, the stipulated Subfidies were never paid. That tho' the faid Allies deferved on that account to have been abandoned, without any formal Ceremony, yet it had been notified to them, that if they would lay down the Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats that were then due, the old Debt should be remitted, and this Money put to the Account of future Subfidies: On this Condition their Majesties promised to enter France with a powerful Army; but the Confederates, without any Regard to their Honour, or to the Advantage of the common Cause, had refused to comply with fo just a Demand. Besides, their Majesties were convinced, that this League did not answer the Ends proposed: For

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173

instead of preserving the Liberties of the A. D. Italians, it tended to their Destruction: For the Venetians, not content with the Possession of several Ports in the Kingdom of Naples, had, without any Provocation, made themselves Masters of Pisa; and therefore, fince every thing was in Confusion by their own Conduct, their Majesties thought it was high Time to provide for themselves by this Truce, whereby they were rather admonished than deferted: For the Example fet by their Majesties might be followed by any of the Allies, who might depart from the Confederacy whenever they found that the general Good was not intended.

THE Spanish Monarchs did not long enjoy those Sweets of Tranquillity which they might have proposed to themselves by the Truce: Prince Giovanni, their only Son, died at this Juncture *; as did Filippo Duke of Savoy, leaving an only Son, a young Child. Filippo had been a long Time in Suspense as to what Part he

^{*} The Prince of Spain was married to Margarita, Maximilian Cafar's Daughter.

A. D. he should take in these Troubles, but 1497. seemed of late to incline to the Allies, who had promised to allow him a yearly Subsidy of Twenty Thousand Ducats; notwithstanding which they doubted of his Fidelity, and feared he would join the French whenever they passed the Alps.

Towards the End of this Year the Duke of Ferrara restored the Castelletto of Genoa, which had been deposited in his Hands, to Lodovico his Son-in-Law. He first applied to the King of France, to demand, that according to the Articles of Vercelli, he might be reimburfed of one Half of the Charges he had been at in keeping the Garrison. Charles did not refuse Payment, provided the Duke would deposit the Castelletto in his Hands; which, he faid, he ought to do, because Lodovico had violated the Treaty. The Duke replying, that this did not appear, the King offered to deposit the Money till it was proved, and determined, who had a Right to it. But Ercole was more influenced by the Venetians,

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175 A. D. 1497

tians, and attached to his Son-in-Law, who to gain him, befides employing all other Arts of Policy, had nominated Cardinal Ippolito, the Duke of Ferrara's Son, Archbishop of Milan *. Moreover, he did not care to incur the Anger of his powerful Neighbours, at a Time when the Dread of a French Invasion lessened every Day. He therefore recalled his Son Don Ferrando from the French Court. and then restored the Castelletto to Lodo-, vico, who, at the fame time, paid him all his Difburfments, including that Share which was to have been paid by the King. The Venetians, willing to make the Duke a Return for fo fignal a Service, took Ferrando into their Pay, and gave him the Command of One Hundred Men at Arms. Altho' the giving up of the Castelletto in this Manner, was a Dishonour to Charles, and prejudicial to his Interest in Italy, yet he shewed no proper Resentment: On the contrary, when Ercole fent an Ambassador to make Excuses, alledging that his Dominions

^{*} Ercole the second Duke of Ferrara had Four Sons, Alfonso his Successor, Ferrando who went into the Venetian Service, Ippolito the Cardinal, and Girmondo a Bastard.

176

minions lay so contiguous to the Venetians and to the Duke of Milan, that he could not refuse their Demand, which had been accompanied with Threats refembling a Declaration of War, the King received and heard him as coolly as if he had been talking of fome indifferent Affair. Charles, indeed, in every Action of his Life, seemed as if he acted by Chance, which was the Caufe of his meeting continually with Anxieties and Difficulties. His Defire of returning into Italy was as ardent as ever; and he never had a finer Opportunity. He had no War with Spain, the Swiss had lately confirmed their Alliance with France, and there were many Causes for Misunderstandings amongst the Allies in Italy: But the Artifices of the Courtiers rendered useless all these Advantages. Some amused the King with Pleasures, others encouraged him indeed to this Undertaking; but required fuch powerful Preparations by Sea and Land, and fuch Sums of Money, as made it impracticable for the present; others, particularly the Cardinal of St. Malo, laid hold on every Diffi-

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Difficulty to diffuade him from it, and A. D. postponed the Preparations. Under such

Management the Italian Expedition not only became more doubtful as to the Time it should be undertaken, but many Parts of the Scheme that was laid for conducting it with Success, some perfected and ripe for Execution, others in great Forwardness, were either deferred or totally laid aside. The Florentines, for Instance, who earnestly sollicited his Majesty's Return, were ready to put their Troops in Motion, as foon as he should be in a Condition to protect them; and for that End had agreed with Aubigni, that he should come by Sea into Tuscany with One Hundred and Fifty Lances, Fifty of which were to be maintained at the Expence of the Republic; and that Aubigni should be General of their Army. The Marquis of Mantua, who had been dishonourably * discharged from his Com-

^{*} Francesco Marquis of Mantua was suspected to be treating with the King; the Venetians ordered him to come to Venice, but he excused himself, pretending to be indisposed; for which he was dismissed their Service. Francesco went then to Venice, to clear himself; saying, that the Accusation was false, and that it was a Calumny of Lodowico: But his Plea was not admitted; and he was ordered to quit Venice.

178 A. D. 1497

mand in the Venetian Troops, after his glorious Campaign of Naples, on a groundless Suspicion of his Design of entering into the French Service, was now treating in Earnest to enter into that of Florence. As for the Duke of Savoy, he was naturally inclined to the French. At Bologna, Bentivoglio promised on their Arrival to be at the King's Devotion; and the Pope himself, after much Hesitation and Demurring, had determined not to oppose him. But this unseasonable Delay put a Damp on the Spirits of all who intended to ferve him: No News was heard of any Troops coming to Asti, as had been promised; Aubigni could not receive his Dispatches; nor did he send Money to pay the Vitelli and the Orfini, who were his own Officers, and very ufeful in an Italian War; for which Reason the Vitelli were on the Point of enlisting themselves in the Service of the Venetians. but were in Time prevented by the Florentines, who engaged them for a Year, obliging themselves to pay one Half of their Salary, and that France should pay the other. This was very pleafing to the King;

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King; but he neither ratified the Agree- A. D. ment, nor made any Provision for his Share of the Payments: On the contrary, he sent Gemel to borrow of the Republic One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats. At last he departed suddenly from Lions, and went to Tours and Ambois, with his usual Promise of a speedy Return; the News of which fo disheartened his Friends in Italy, that Battistino Fregoso finding he could have no Dependance on Charles, reconciled himself with the Duke of Milan, who now more than ever urged the Pope and King of Spain to oblige the Venetians to quit Pisa, and restore it to the Florentines.

In the Beginning of the Year 1498, the Florentines fent an Ambassador to Rome, to acquaint the Pope, but with great Secrefy, that they were willing to join in the League against France, provided Pisa was restored to them. The Ambassador was instructed to take great Care, that, if his Negotiation did not succeed, it might not be known that this Proposition came from them, which would give fo great M 2 Offence

A. D. Offence to the King of France. For feveral Days this Affair was agitated in Rome: The Pope openly pressed the Ambassadors of Spain, Milan, and Naples, to infift with the Venetian Ambaffador, that as it was necessary for the common Safety, by this Means to induce the Florentines to unite in the common Cause against France, his Senate should agree to the Proposal with the rest of the Allies; that this would eradicate the most effential Cause of Diffention amongst the Italians, and prevent any one Power from calling in the Ultramontanes; and if this Union was not complied with, many fad Events might happen, which would endanger the whole Nation.

But the Venetian Senate absolutely refused to give Ear to such a Proposition; and covering their Ambition under other Reasons, answered by the Mouth of their Ambassador, That this Motion was not made for the public Good, but proceeded from the malignant Disposition of one of the Allies towards their Republic. For the Florentines were ever attached to the

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get Possession of all Tuscany; that therefore the reinstating them in Pisa would be

a very dangerous Step: For the more potent they became, fo much the more they would have it in their Power to disturb the Peace of Italy. That the Honour of all the Allies was concerned in this Affair, but especially that of their Republic: For all the Confederates had engaged at first to protect the Pisans in their Liberty; but, in the Sequel, to fave Expences, had left the whole Burthen on them; who had never grudged either Money or Trouble, but honourably stood to their Word; and that if others had no Regard to theirs, that would be no Inducement to the Republic to follow fuch Examples. That it feemed very strange to the Senate, that they should be censured for acting

that they should be censured for acting according to a Plan formed by the Allies themselves, and prosecuted for the universal Good; and that with so much Ingratitude they should now be distrusted, after rendering such signal Services. That

the immense Charges they had been at in

this and other Undertakings, their Anxiety,

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A. D. and the Perils they had undergone for the common Safety, did not deserve such Returns; that without Exaggeration they might affert, that Italy had been by them alone preserved: For at the Taro it was their Arms that won the Battle, and theirs that recovered the Kingdom of Naples. What Army had obliged Novara to furrender? Who constrained the French to repass the Alps? Whose Forces had opposed them in Piedmont, when they attempted to return? Nor can any one affert, that in all these Performances they have had any other View, than the Safety of Italy: For the Venetians, by their Situation, were not exposed to Danger; nor could it be expected that they should expose themselves to rectify the ill Conduct of others. They did not invite the King of France into Italy, nor accompany him with their Forces after he was arrived; nor had they, for want of furnishing their Proportion of Supplies, endangered the Whole: But, on the contrary, the Venetian Senate interposed, when, thro' the bad Conduct of others, the Liberties of Italy were on the Brink of

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of Destruction. If such great Exploits were not acknowledged, or were so soon forgot, yet they would not, out of Resentment, sollowing the bad Example of others, forseit their Faith, or act below the Dignity of their Republic, which was concerned in the Preservation of Pisa; with which also was connected the Security of all Italy.

WHILST this Affair was debating at Death of Rome, a new Accident happened, that the King produced unforeseen Effects. King Charles died at Ambois of an Apoplexy on the 7th of April, whilst he was at the Tennis-Court: The Fit was fo violent, that after a few Hours, without being removed, he expired. Thus ended, abruptly, a Life, whose Motions rather springing from some rash and sudden Impulse, than directed by the Rules of true Policy, occasioned fo many Revolutions, and gave fuch Disturbance to the publick Repose; and would, in all Probability, had it lasted longer, have been the Cause of many more Calamities in Europe. For this Prince feemed to have fet his Heart fo M 4

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A.D. much on his darling Scheme of Subjecting Italy, that it was expected he would at length have furmounted all Difficulties, by his own Reflections and steady Application, affisted by the Enemies of the Cardinal, the grand Opposer of this Project. At the Time of his Death, the Italians were in a State of Uncertainty; for as his Motions varied, fo their Fears increased and decreased in Proportion. It was well known that the Pope, from a fond Defire of exalting his Children, held private Negotiations with Charles; and it was reported, that the Duke of Milan, for his own Security, was acting in the fame Manner *.

> CHARLES died without Male Issue, whence the Crown reverted to the Duke of Orleans, who was the next in Blood: That Prince was at Blois, to which Place the Royal Guards and the Courtiers immediately reforted; and he was acknowledged

^{*} The Conditions on which Lodowico would have been reconciled to Charles, were the Banishment of the Duke of Orleans into Normandy, and the Delivery of Don Trivulzio to him; which would have been effected, if the King had not died. Corio.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 185 ledged by the whole Nation, tho' it had A. D. been suggested, that he had forseited his Right, by taking up Arms in Britany against the Kingdom.

PALM-SUNDAY was the Period of Savonarola's Authority in Florence. Multitudes of Complaints against him had been carried to Rome, where he was accused of preaching, in a scandalous Manner, against the bad Discipline and Vices of the Clergy, and Court of Rome. He was further charged with unfound Doctrine, and with fomenting Divisions. For these Misdemeanours he had been several times fummoned to Rome by the Pope, but had continued refractory to his Orders, alledging divers Excuses for his Disobedience; for which he was publickly excommunicated. Under fo fevere a Cenfure, he refrained for some Months from preaching; and probably would have been absolved, had he continued in the same Submission: For the Pope himself despised him, and exercised his spiritual Arms more at the Sollicitations of some Friars, who hated Savonarola, than from his own

A. D. 1498.

Inclination. But Savonarola finding that by his Silence his Interest declined, * and the Ends for which he had preached could not be answered; despising the pontifical Orders, returned again to his Office; afferting that the Cenfures pronounced against him were null, as contrary to the Divine Will and public Welfare; and at the same time inveighed bitterly against the Pope, and the Court of Rome. This occasioned frequent Tumults: For his Enemies, who got Ground every Day, stirred up the Populace, who, above all Things, abhorred Disobedience to the Pope; and had him reprimanded by fome in the Government for his Audaciousness, which tended to alienate the Pope's Affections from the Florentines, at a Juncture when he was treating with the Allies for the Restitution of Pisa. On the other Hand, his Followers alledged in his Defence, that Divine Service was privileged from Disturbances; that it was dangerous to admit of an Example, which would be a Precedent for Popes to intrude in

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^{*} Giovio says, that Savozarola preached that the Pope's Excommunications were not to be regarded.

187 A. D.

in the Affairs of their Government. These Contentions lasted several Days, till Alexander in great Wrath thundering out new Briefs, and threatning to interdict the City, the Magistrates ordered him to desist from preaching. Savonarola obeyed; but the Dominican Friars of his Convent went from Church to Church, preaching the fame Doctrines; which were refuted by the Religious of other Orders. These Disputes were carried on with great Heat, and excited fuch Animofities both in Church and State, that at last a Dominican and a Franciscan agreed to try by Fire the Merits of their Cause, in the Presence of the whole City; which would convince the World, whether Savonarola was a true Prophet or an Impostor. For he had feveral times advanced that, if it were necessary, God would work a Miracle to prove the Truth of his Predictions, and conduct him fafe through the Flames of a burning Pile. But the Affair was now become too ferious, and he grew very uneafy that his Friar should have gone fo far without confulting him; and whilft he was meditating on Expedients to put

off

A. D. off the Challenge, those among the Citizens who were his Enemies, pushed it on vehemently, and thought this a good Opportunity of getting rid of fo malignant an Incendiary. On the Day appointed, the Two Friars, accompanied by all those of their Convents, appeared in the great Square before the Palace; where were affembled not only the Inhabitants of Florence, but also Multitudes that came out of the Country. Every thing was ready, when the Franciscans were informed, that Savonarola had ordered his Friar to enter the Fire with the Sacrament in his Hand; at which they took Exception: Alledging, that if the Host was burnt, it would endanger the Authority of the Christian Faith, by affecting the Minds of the weak and ignorant People. But Savonarola, who was present, insisting that the Experiment should be performed in that Manner, the Trial was fet aside. Savonarola's Credit fuffered greatly on this Occasion; fo much, that the next Day, on a cafual Tumult, the People took up Arms; and being countenanced by the supreme Magistracy,

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189 A. D.

1498.

flracy, they forced themselves into the Monastery of St. Marco, seized on Savo-narola, and two other Friars, and carried them to the public Prison *. During this Consussion, the Relations of those Citizens, who the Year before had been beheaded, assassinated Francesco Valori, a Nobleman of great Authority, for being chief Patron of Savonarola, and the principal Cause that the Appeal of their Relations to the People on that Occasion, had not been admitted.

SAVONAROLA was afterwards put to the Question, but in a gentle Manner; and his Examination and Confession were by the Magistracy formed into a Process, and ordered to be published. In this Paper he was cleared of several Calumnies that had been laid to his Charge; such as leading a dissolute Life, being avaricious, and having kept secret Correspondence with foreign Princes. He confessed that those Events he had foretold were not

^{*} The Name of one of these Friars was Fra Dominico of Pescia, the other Fra Sitro of Florence. Pietro Delphino.

190 A. D.

by Divine Revelation, but founded on the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, which he had profoundly studied: That what he had preached, had not proceeded from any Malignity, nor from any ambitious Views of ecclefiastical Preferments, but from Zeal, and in Hopes, that through his Means, a general Council might be affembled, in which the corrupt Manners of the Clergy might be reformed, and the Doctrine of the Church restored, so as to refemble, as near as possible, the primitive Times; in which laudable Attempt, if it had pleased God to help his Labours, he should have thought himself more happy and glorious, than if he had acquired the Popedom: For the first could not have been procured but by good found Doctrine and Virtue; fuch as would have gained him the Reverence and Esteem of all the World; whereas the other might be obtained, as it often was, by wicked Means, or good Fortune. He confirmed the Contents of this Process in the Prefence of many Regulars, some of whom were of his own Order; but in fuch concise Terms, as, if we may believe his Friends,

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Friends, might bear a different Interpre- A. D. tation. After this the General of the Dominicans, and Bishop Romolino, afterwards Cardinal Surrente, who had been fent from Rome, on purpose to affist at this Trial, degraded * Savonarola, and the two Friars of his Order, with the Ceremonies used by the Roman Church on fuch Occasions, and delivered them over to the fecular Power. They were first hanged, and then their Bodies were burnt, in the Presence of as great a Multitude, as had affembled before in the same Place, in Expectation of affifting at the miraculous Experiment of Fire. Savonarola died with great Intrepidity, without rola hang; uttering a Word concerning his Guilt, or ed and his Innocence; which left the Minds of burnt. the People in the same Uncertainty as to his Sanctity. Some called him an Impostor, whilst others affirmed, that the Confession published in his Name, was either false, or what he had faid had been extorted by the Question; a Frailty which they said

was

Delfino writes, that when the Bishop, in degrading him, said he separated him from the Church, Savonarola replied. You mean from the Church militant.

THE HISTORY OF

192

A. D. was excufable: Since the Prince of the Apostles, who was neither imprisoned, nor forced by Torments, at the Interrogation of a Servant-Maid, had denied being a Disciple of that Master, whose holy Doctrine he had imbibed, and to whose Miracles he had been an Eye-Witness.

The End of the Third Book.





Francesco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

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BOOK IV.

THE CONTENTS.

Lewis XII. King of France, afferts his Right to the Dutchy of Milan, and with a numerous Army gets Possession. It is regained by Lodovico; and lost again. The Affairs of Pisa are left to the Arbitration of the Duke of Ferrara. Cæsar Borgia gives up the Cardinal's Hat, and takes the Title of Duke Valentino.

*** HE Death of Charles King of
The France delivered Italy from the
Fear of a present Invasion: For
it was not supposed that the new King,
N Lewis

THE HISTORY OF

194 Lewis XII. would, at the Commence-A. D. 1498. ment of his Reign, intangle himself in a War on this Side the Mountains. the reflecting Part of Mankind was apprehensive, that the Evil was only ripening, Qualifica- and would in Time break out with greater

tions of Lewis X []

They confidered, that the Violence. new Monarch was of mature Years, experienced in military Affairs, frugal in his Expences, and without comparison steadier in his Resolutions, and less liable to be imposed on than his Predecessor. He had not only the same Claim to the Kingdom of Naples, but pretended also to the Dutchy of Milan in his own Right, which he derived from Madama Valentina his Grandmother, who was given in Marriage to Lewis Duke of Orleans, Brother to Charles VI. by her Father Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, when he was only Imperial Vicar, and had not yet obtained the Title of Duke of Milan. Her Dowry was the City and Territory of Asti, besides a vast Sum of Money; and in the Marriage Articles it was expresly stipulated, that in Case of Failure of Issue Male of Galeazzo's Body, Valentina and her Issue should

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195 A. D.

should succeed to the Dutchy of Milan. This Convention, which was null of itself, and of no great Force, was at that Time confirmed, as the French write, by the pontifical Authority; the Imperial Throne being vacant, and the Popes claiming it as their Prerogative to administer, whilst the Empire is without a Head. In Filippo Maria Visconti ended the Male-Line of Giovanni Galeazzo, and Charles Duke of Orleans, Son of Valentina, laid Claim to the Dutchy of Milan; but as the Ambition of Princes makes them ever ready to embrace all Pretences to Empire, tho' never fo frivolous, fo the Emperor Frederick alledged, that as the Male-Line of Giovanni Galeazzo, who received the Investiture from Vinceslaus King of the Romans, was extinct, that State reverted of courfe to the Empire. Alfonso King of Arragon and Naples put in his Claim also by Virtue of the Will of Giovanni Galeazzo in his Favour; but the Power, Artifices, and good Fortune of Francesco Sforza got the better of all his Competitors; and to accompany his Arms with fome Colour of Reason, he afferted, that the Right of Succeffion

A. D. ceffion was invested in his Wife Bianca; who, tho' a natural Daughter, was still the only Child of Filippo.

THE above - mentioned Charles of Orleans was taken captive at the Battle of Agencourt, and carried into England, where he remained Twenty-five Years a Prisoner, without being able, thro' his Poverty and ill Fortune, to make good his Right, nor could he obtain any Aid from his near Relation Lewis XI. For that Prince, at the Beginning of his Reign, received a great deal of Trouble from his Grandees, who under a Pretence of public Good, but, in Reality, to gratify their own private Revenge and Ambition, had taken up Arms against him; which effectually convinced him, that his Security and Grandeur depended on lowering the Pride and Ambition of the great Men of his Kingdom. And, upon this Account, Levis of Orleans, the Prisoner's Son, could never obtain any Affistance from him, tho' he was his Son-in-Law. After the Death of Lewis XI. the Duke of Orleans, not brooking that Anne of Bourbon,

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Bourbon, the King's Sister, should be preferred to him in the Regency during the Minority of Charles VIII. first stirred up Commotions in France, tho' with bad Success, and afterwards retiring into Britany, met with still greater Misfortunes. There he joined that Party which declared against the Marriage of Anne the Heiress of Britany with Charles, lest that Dutchy, after the Death of Francis her Father, should be annexed to France. But whilft he was treating to get her for himself, he was taken at the Battle of St. Aubin, fought between the French and Britons, and cast into Prison, where he continued Two Years, without being able to make good his Pretenfions to the Dutchy of Milan; and tho' afterwards released by the King's Clemency, he could procure no Affistance from him, and never made any other Attempt but that of Novara, which proved of no Confequence. But now that he was in Possession of the

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as the Conquest of the Milanese, which he regarded as his own Patrimony. From

Crown, he had nothing so much at Heart

his Infancy he had nourished this Desire,

which

197

A. D.

198 A. D.

which was augmented by the Thoughts of his Sufferings in Novara, and by the ill Treatment he had received at Asti from Lodovico, against whom he meditated Revenge. Pursuant to this Resolution, a few Days after the Death of Charles, by the Advice of his Council, he took upon him the Titles, not only of King of France, of Jerusalem, and the Two Sicilies in regard to Naples, but stiled himself also Duke of Milan. As he had then determined to make no Secret of his real Sentiments in regard to the Affairs of Italy, he immediately notified in Form to the Pope, Venetians, and Florentines his Accession to the Crown; acquainting them at the same Time with his Design of coming into Italy, and more particularly of his Refolution of making himself Master of the Dutchy of Milan,

This Undertaking seemed to be attended with many Advantages: The Death of Charles had altered the Sentiments of several of the Italian Princes. The Pope, incited by an immoderate Thirst of Dominion, thought he could

not compass his Ends, whilft Haly was in Peace. The Venetians imagined that Charles could never forget the Injuries they had done him; but now that Fear ceasing, they were for entering into Terms of Friendship with the new King; and this Disposition would, in all Probability, daily increase; for they expected that Lodovico, fwayed more by prefent Revenge, than apprehensive of Dangers, would continually thwart them in the Affair of Pisa. Both he and King Federigo knew that Lewis would prove a more powerful and more implacable Enemy than Charles, yet they were fatisfied that it was impracticable for him, for some Time, to march an Army into Italy.

THE Florentines were the only State that feemed inclinable to withdraw their Friendship from France: For they confidered, that tho' Lewis had been in their Interest, yet now he was come to the Crown he was, under no fort of Ties to their Republic, either by virtue of any Promises made them, or for any Obligations laid on his Predecessor, on account N 4

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199

A. D.

A. D. of the Capitulations of Florence and Asti. Nor did they imagine that Lewis would think much of the many Dangers and Expences they had chose to go through, rather than abandon their Alliance with France. Besides, the Discord, that daily increased between the Venetians and Lodovico, freed them from any Apprehensions they formerly had of the Allies, and made them think it an easier Matter to receive the Succours that were at Hand from Lodovico in Lombardy, than depend on the uncertain Motions of the French who were at fuch a Distance. These and the like Reflections made them less desirous of entering into an Alliance with Lewis.

Venetians bassadors

In these different Dispositions of Mind fend Am-among the Italian Potentates, their Proto Lewis. ceedings were no less different. The Venetians sent immediate Orders to their Secretary at Turin to repair to the French Court, and foon after, in order to lay a Foundation for a firm Friendship, which they expected would be conducive to the Interest of their Republic, they sent Three Ambassadors to congratulate the new King

201

on his Accession, and to assure him that A. D. their Conduct in regard to Charles had proceeded from well-grounded Reasons they had to think, that he not only meditated the Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, but also that of all Italy.

THE Pope, who was determined that Popelends his Son should abdicate the Cardinalship, Ambassaand get himself invested with some secular Dignity, full of high Expectations, fent Ambassadors to Lewis to negotiate a Traffic of heavenly Treasures for temporal Dominion. He well knew that the King was follicitous to be divorced from his barren and deformed Wife, who had almost been forced upon him by Lewis XI. He was also apprised of his Desire to marry Anne the late King's Widow, not fo much out of Fondness with respect to their former Love before the Battle of St. Aubin, but because by this Marriage he would secure to himself the Possession of the Dutchy of Britany, which lay so convenient, and was fo great an Addition to his Dominions; an Affair of Importance, and not

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proceeded from well-grounded Meafons

Floren-Ambassadors.

As for the Florentines, their Ambassa. tines send dors were in Readiness, as is usual on such Occasions; and were instructed to expatiate on the Merits of the Republic with regard to France, and the Services they had done the late King. To this Freedom they were encouraged by Lodovico, who imagined that their Credit with the King might dispose him the less to favour the Venetians when the Affair of Pifa came before him. He was not without Hopes also that they would employ their Interest at the French Court in bringing about, what he heartily wished, a Reconciliation between his Majesty and himself.

> THE Ambassadors of all these Powers were very courteously received by the King, who treated with them feparately, but was determined to undertake no Italian Expedition, before he was well affured that his Kingdom should not be molested in his Absence by the neighbouring Princes, with

with whom he intended to make new A. D. Alliances or od bloow when to so To

the Obedience of their old Mafters; and

HEAVEN had decreed, that the Flame which Lodovico had kindled up in Pifa, and was continually feeding, should at last feize and destroy its Author. That Prince; either out of Envy, or fear of impending Danger to himself and the other Potentates of Italy from the exorbitant Power of the Venetians, could not bear to see the Fruits of all his laboured Schemes and Arts of Policy become a Prey to ambitious Intruders. In this Disposition, after he had maturely confidered the Refolution of the Florentines, and their Steadiness in the Affair of Pifa, imagining that by the Death of Savonarola and Valori, who constantly opposed his Meafures, he might now treat with them Lodovico resolves to on more firm and confident Hopes of affift the Success, he took a Resolution to assist florenthem with all his Power in the Recovery of Pisa, which neither his Negotiations nor Authority, nor the Perfuasions of others had been able to effect. He vainly imagined that before the French could be ready

THE HISTORY OF

204

A. D. ready with an Army, Pifa, either by Force or Treaty, would be reduced to the Obedience of their old Masters; and he took for granted, that the Venetian Senate, acted by that Prudence, which had not operated on himself, would not think Pifa of fuch Consequence, as, merely out of Revenge, to fuffer the Liberties of all Italy to be endangered by the Return of the French, whom, at the Expence of fo much Blood and Treafure, they had so lately expelled.

THIS imprudent Resolution was haftened by an Action that happened in the Territory of Pisa, to the Disadvantage of the Florentines. They had posted a good Body of Troops at Pontadera, where they received Intelligence that a Party of Seven Hundred Horse and One Thousand Foot, that had marched out of Pifa, were returning from the Marshes of Volterra with a great Booty. Count Rinuccio, and Gulielmo de Pazzi, the Florentine Commissary, drew out all their Force in order to intercept their Return, and chargworsted at ing them in the Vale of St. Regolo put

Floren-

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205 A. D. 1498.

them to flight, and recovered the best part of the Effects. As foon as the Pisans had Advice of the Commissary's Motions, they fent out One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, who attacked their Enemies while they were in Diforder, and intent on Plunder, with fo much Vigour, that, tho' the Count did all that was possible to rally his Men at Arms, the Florentines, after a faint Refistance made by fome of their Foot, were entirely defeated, a great Number of the Infantry killed, many taken Prisoners, among them feveral Officers, and the best part of the Horses also fell into the Enemy's Hands *. The Count and Commissary with no little Hazard faved themselves in St. Regolo, laying the Blame on each other, as it commonly happens after a Miscarriage of this Nature.

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THE Florentines were greatly alarmed Florenate the Difaster, as they could not soon tines appropriately to recruit, their General in Chief Rinuc-France for cio had entirely lost his Reputation, and his

^{*} Bembo fays there were Two Hundred killed, One Hundred and Thirty taken, with Seven Standards.

THE HISTORY OF

A. D.

206

his own Regiment had been stripped, In the present Exigence they sent Orders to their Troops at Arezzo to march for Pifa, and put all their Forces under the Command of Pagolo Vitelli, who refused that Charge till they gave him the Title of Captain-General. They next made their Addresses to the King of France, humbly befeeching him to fend Three Hundred Lances into Tuscany, in Hopes that fuch a Force; joined to the Authority of the royal Protection, would remove their imminent Danger; requesting also that he would fulfil the Agreement made with the late King for keeping the Vitelli in their common Service, by contributing his Proportion of their Pay; and-would moreover use his Interest with the Venetians to defift from Hostilities. But Lewis, who was unwilling to disoblige or give any Cause of Distrust to the Venetians, and was refolved not to meddle in the Affairs of Italy till he was in Readiness to invade the Milanese, put them off with fair Words, which produced no manner of Effect.

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In this Extremity, as their last Resort, they had Recourse to the Duke of Milan. And to the But the Duke wanted no Intreaties, on Duke of the contrary he was apprehensive lest the Milan. Venetians should improve this Advantage in such a manner as to render his Aid intessectual. He thought sit therefore, without Loss of Time, to send a trusty Agent to Florence, to inform himself not only of what was necessary for their Desence, but for the entire Reduction of Pisa.

As there were no Apprehensions from France this Year, the whole Attention of the Italians was employed on the Pisan War, all other Parts of Italy enjoying Peace. There had, indeed, been some Quarrels between the two Houses of the Orsini and Colonna, but the Parties concerned, by their own Prudence and Conduct, got the better of their Enmity and Passions. The Matter of Fact in short was this: The Colonnas and the Savelli, to revenge themselves on Jacopo Conti, who had possessed himself of Torre Mattia, attacked the Castles belonging to the Family

A. D. mily of Conti, who were then joined by the Orsini, as being of the same Party.

Cause of a After several Castles taken on both Sides, War bethey came at last to a pitched Battle at the tween the Foot of Monticelli in the Neighbourhood of Orsini of Tivoli, where, after fighting with great and Colon-Obstinacy and Party Rage for Honour, Interest, and Revenge, the Orsini, who

had Two Thousand Foot and Eight Orsini Hundred Horse, were beaten out of the

Monticelli Field, and lost all their Colours, and Carlo Orfino was taken Prisoner. On the Side of the Colonnas, Antonello Savello, an Officer of Reputation, was wounded, and died in a few Days. When the Battle was over, the Pope pretending not to like fuch Disturbances in the Neighbourhood of Rome, offered his Mediation, which was accepted by both Parties. But while his Holiness, in his usual Manner, was amufing them, the Orfini affembled another Army, and befieged Palombara, the capital Town belonging to the Savelli, which the Colonnas, who had taken feveral Forts after' the Battle, were preparing to relieve. At last both Parties being convinced that the Pope widened the Breaches, and

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200 and inflamed their Animosities, with an A. D. Intent, after they had weakened one another, to make them both his Prey, came to a Parley, and agreed to have a Meeting at Tivoli, where in a few Hours they became Friends, on Condition, that Carlo Peace be-Orfino should be set at Liberty, the Places tween the taken on both Sides restored, and the lies. Dispute about the Territory of Tagliacozzo and Albi referred to King Federigo, who had many Persons of the Family of Colonna in his Service.

WHAT now remained of the War in Italy was confined to the City and Territory of Pisa. The Duke of Milan at first intended only to give the Florentines a powerful Succour in Money, and that underhand. But his Resentment against the Venetians increasing to such a Height, Lodovico as to vent itself in haughty Language, quarrels and threatening Expressions, he resolved with the Venetians. to throw off the Mask at once, and began with denying their Troops a Passage thro' the Parmesan and Pontremoli in their March to Pisa, which obliged them to fetch a Compass by a difficult Way thro' the

A. D. 1498.

the Duke of Ferrara's Country. He had Interest enough with Casar, who had difmissed all the Ambassadors of the League but those of the King of Spain, on his recalling them, to except those of the Venetians. He fent Three Hundred Archers to the Florentines, and engaged to pay his Share towards a new Levy of Three Hundred Men at Arms, part of them to be commanded by the Lord of Piombino, and the rest under Pagol Baglione He lent them above Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, and made a fincere Offer of all his Power to ferve them. He interceded also with the Pope in their Behalf, intreating his Holiness to lend a favourable Ear to the humble Applications of the Florentines. The Pope was convinced that it could not be for the Papal Interest that the Venetians should become Masters of Pisa, and therefore promised an Affistance of One Hundred Men at Arms, befides Three light Galleys under Captain Villamarina, which were to cruize before Pisa, and intercept all Provisions or Stores carrying thither by Sea. But he found Reason to alter his Measures, and,

A. D.

and, after many Excuses for his Delay, openly refused to send this Succour, having 1498. greater Things and more interesting to himself in Prospect, for he was now more than ever intent on entering into a strict Alliance with the King of France, from whom he had the Vanity to expect nothing less than the Kingdom of Naples for his Son.

IT is the common Frailty of Mankind, when bent on any Project, to amufe themselves with flattering Hopes, and to represent as easy what to a calm and unprejudiced Understanding will appear difficult. It was really Matter of Astonishment that Alexander after a Repulse, which ought in Reason to have knocked all his Schemes on the Head, should be so little disconcerted, as to find Occasion from that very Repulse to enlarge his Views, and form still greater Projects. Before he took this Refolution of entering into a League with France, he had proposed to King Federigo a Match between his Son, who was disposed to part with his Cardinal's Hat, and the King's Daughter, with the

212 A.D.

the Principality of Taranto for her Dowry. He imagined that if his Son, who was endowed with great natural Parts, should once get Possession of so considerable a Member of the Kingdom, being married to a Royal Daughter, he might, with the Arms and the Pretentions of the Church to that Country, eafily disposses his Father-in-Law, who was unprovided of Men and Money, and had neither the Love nor Esteem of many of his Barons. Lodovico favoured the Pope's Suit, and fent Marchesino Stampa to Rome, and thence to Naples, to follicit Federigo, first with Reasons, and then, if necessary, with Threats, to come into the Motion. Minister was charged to remonstrate to the King the dangerous Consequence of his Refusal, which would be throwing his Holiness into the Arms of France; and endeavour to convince him how weak and imprudent it would appear, when the common Safety lay at Stake, to fuffer himself to be biassed by Valentino's Birth, and, rather than put fome Violence on his own Inclinations, to risque the Preservation of his Kingdom. Federigo knew how

213

how to refift all these Sollicitations: He had been knew that a Denial might endanger his Throne, but he was also sensible that to give his Daughter in Marriage to the Cardinal of Valenza, with the Principality of Taranto, was no less hazardous. Therefore of two Dangers he would chuse to encounter that which appeared to him the most honourable, and which would not proceed from any Act of his own. This mortifying Denial quite determined the Pope to enter into French Measures, and his Fear of offending the Venetians, whom he would willingly induce to make the

But the Florentines now thought themselves strong enough in the Field, and their Affairs in a promising Way, by the Accession of so good an Ally as the Duke of Milan, and under the Conduct of a General of such military Reputation as Pagolo Vitelli. They were grown to such a Height of Resolution, and Considence in their Commander, that no Danger appeared formidable, no Enterprize too difficult.

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any Affistance to the Florentines,

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rous Body of their Citizens and Peasants, who were experienced and resolute, had Four Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred Stradiotti, and above Two Thousand Foot Auxiliaries from the Venetians, who were unanimously disposed to send them still more Forces if required; for those very Senators who had before so warmly opposed taking the Pisans under the Protection of the Republic, since they sound themselves embarked in the Cause, now thought it necessary, for the Honour of the Senate, to defend them.

Lodovico induced Bentivoglio, as files the Florentines refolved to augment their Army with fuch a Number of Troops, as should be sufficient not only to disposses the Pisans of all the fortified Places in the Neighbourhood of Pisa, but to frustrate any Attempts from the neighbouring States, at the Sollicitations of the Venetians, to affish the Pisans, or attack any Part of the Dominions of Florence. With this Intent Lodovico induced Bentivoglio, who was in Alliance with him and the Vene-

tians, to acknowledge him his fole Ally; A. D. and to lay this new Friend under stronger Obligations, the Florentines took his Son Bentivog. Alessandro into their Pay. This was an lio deimportant Step, for Alessandro was at the Lodowico. Head of Two Hundred Men at Arms raised by Lodovico in concert with the Venetians, before he had refolved to declare himself. And because the Lord of Faenza was under the Protection of the Venetians. the Florentines hired Ottaviano Riario, Lord of Imola and Furli, with One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, to cover their Territory from any Attack on the Side of Romagna. Ottaviano followed in every thing the Dictates of his Mother Caterina Sforza, who was entirely at Lodovico's Devotion for feveral Reasons, but particularly because she was privately married to Giovanni de' Medici, and she was confident that the Duke of Milan, difliking the popular Government in Florence, intended to reinstate Giovanni and his Brother in that City. Lodovico also obtained a Promise from the Lucchese, with whom he had great Authority, that they would defift from supplying the 0 4 Pifans,

and the their Engagement, yet they observed it in a great measure out of Respect to

him.

THERE remained still to manage the Sænese and the Genoese, both inviterate Enemies of the Florentines, who were then actually at Variance with these two States; with one of them on account of Monte Pulciano, and with the other on the Affair of the Lunegiana. It was feared that the Sænese, from an old Grudge, would, as usual, tho' to their own Detriment, fupply the Enemies of the Florentines with all the Conveniences their Country would afford: And tho' the Genoese, out of antient Emulation, must be conceived averse to the Settlement of the Venetians at Pisa, yet as there was little Regard ever shewn in Genoa to the public Welfare, both Venetian and Pisan Vessels continued to traffic in their Port for the Benefit that accrued to Particulars, and to the great Advantage of the Pisans. By Lodovico's Advice the Florentines fent Ambassadors

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to both these States; but the Treaty with A. D. 1498.

People peremptorily insisted on the Delivery of Sarzana, on the sole Consideration of a Promise that the Pisans should receive no sort of Supplies from the Dominions of Genoa; which Condition the Florentines regarding as attended with a certain Loss for a small and even doubtful Gain, refused to buy their Friendship at so dear a Rate.

WHILE these Things were in Agi- Florentation, the Florentines, under their new tines take Captain-General, took the Field, with the Field. an Army stronger in Horse than Foot; which obliged the Pisans, who, fince the Fight at St. Regolo, had scowered the Country with their Stradiotti without controul, to break up their Camp at Ponte di Sacco. Vitelli first took Calcinaia, and while he was expecting fome Recruits of Infantry, receiving Intelligence that the Venetians posted at Cascina, under Marco Martinengo kept no Guard nor Discipline, he fuddenly fell upon them, killed many Surprifes of the Stradiotti, with Giovanni Gradinico, the Vene-Captain of Men at Arms, and took Franco tians. Chief

A. D. 1498.

Chief of the Stradiotti, with One Hundred Horse Prisoners. On this the Venetions abandoned Cascina, and retired to Borgo di St. Marco, where they waited for Reinforcements from Venice. Pagola Vitelli, being now joined by his Foot, made a Feint of attacking Cascina; but while the Pisans were preparing for its Defence, he detached Three Thousand Men with Orders to post themselves on the upper Grounds, and then, with great Labour and Difficulty passing his heavy Cannon over the Mountains, croffed the Arno, and invested Buti, which was taken by Storm the next Day after it began to be battered. The General chose rathertoattack Buti than Pifa; for confidering with himself the desperate Obstinacy of the Pisans, their Numbers, the Multitude of Peasants in the Town, who by long Exercise were become expert Soldiers, together with the Venetian Garrison, and the Strength of the Walls and Fortifications, helaid aside all Thoughts of reducing Pisa by Force. He judged it therefore more expedient to streighten the Place, by taking in those Forts that lie on the Right

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219 A. D. 1498.

Right of the Arno, and to intercept all Communication with the neighbouring States. For this End, after taking Buti, he erected a Fort on the Hill of San Giovanni della Vena, and with the fame Labour as before brought his Cannon before a Fort which the Pisans had erected near Vico, poffeffed himself of all the Territory of Valdecalci, raifed another Fortification at Pietra Dolorofa above Vico Pisano, to prevent all Passage of Provisions by that Road, and invested the Fortress of the Verrucola. Count Rinuccio had posted himself in Valdinievole, to be a Check upon the Pifans, and frustrate all Sallies which it was expected they would hazard for preventing the Sieges of Librafatta and Valdiserchio; yet this did not prevent a Sally of Four Hundred Men, who furprised and cut to Pieces some Florentine Foot in the Church of St. Michele, defigned to affift at the Siege of Verrucola. Pagolo in the mean time made himself Master of the Fort near Vico, allowing the Garrison to march out with their Cannon for Vico Pisano, and then. encamped before Vico, where he opened

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A. D. 1498.

the Trenches, not on the fame Side it had been besieged by the Florentines, when himself defended it, but that towards San Giovanni della Vena, by which Means he prevented all Succours from Pifa. A large Breach being made, the Governor furrendered on Condition that the Garrison should march away, and the Inhabitants should be fafe in their Persons and Effects. They did not care to hold out to Extremity, because Vitelli, when he took Buti, ordered Three German Gunners to have their Hands chopped off, besides other Cruelties, to strike a Terror. Vico being taken by Pagolo, his good Fortune favoured him on another Occasion: For the Pisans imagining it would be easy to surprise the Fort of Pietra Dolorosa, made a furious Attack upon the Place before Break of Day, with Two Hundred Light Horse, and some chosen Infantry; but meeting with longer Resistance than was expected, it happened that in the Heat of Action Pagolo was perceived hastening over the Hills to the Relief of the Place. The Affailants then had nothing to do but to make the best of their Way to Pisa, in which

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which near Calci they fell in with Vitel- A. D. lozzo who waited to intercept them, and Pagolo coming up, they were totally routed, and many of the Horse, and most part of the Foot killed.

IN the mean time the Florentines re-Agreeceived Information from the Duke and ment proothers, that the Venetians were inclined to tween the make Peace, and that all Differences and Flomight be easily accommodated, provided rentines. the Republic of Florence would confent, as was decent and proper, to treat with the Venetians as with a superior Republic, and not as with their Equals. On this Advice Guido Antonio Vespucci and Ber-tines send nardo Rucellai, Two Citizens of great Ambassa-Authority, were fent to Venice to inform Venice. themselves of the Senate's real Intentions. This Application would have been mademuch fooner, had not the Florentines stood in fear of disobliging King Charles, and were also conscious to themselves that while they were vifibly too weak to fubdue Pisa, all Intreaties not enforced by the Authority of some signal Action are vain and fruitless. But now having a

power-

A. D. powerful Force in the Field, and the Duke of Milan having openly declared against the Venetians, they began to entertain Hopes of finding out some Expedient for an honourable Agreement.

and Treaty.

Their Re- THE Ambassadors were received very honourably, and introduced to the Doge and College; where, after making Excuses in the Name of their Republic for fending no fooner, " which, they faid, was owing to the Iniquity of the Times, and the Circumstances of their City, they, in plain Terms, defired them to defift from the Defence of Pifa, which they had Reason to expect, since the Florentine Republic had given no just Cause of Offence, and the Venetian Senate was famous for doing Justice, which was the Basis of all Virtues, and ought to be preferred to any other Consideration in Government." The Doge answered, " that it was true the Florentines had not injured them, and that the Venetians had not undertaken the Defence of Pifa, with an Intent to offend the Florentines, but merely because they had joined with the French.

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French, and differed in their Politics from A. D. all the rest of the Italian Potentates. The common Safety, therefore, had engaged the Allies to promise the Pifans their Affistance. That if others were regardless of their Word, they would not, against the known Rule of their Republic, follow fo vile an Example. But if they had any thing to offer by which the Freedom of the Pisans might be preferved, they were ready to convince the World, that no private Interest or Ambition could induce them to persevere in their Hostilities against the Florentines." After this it was for several Days debated, in what Manner both Parties might be fatisfied; but neither the Ambassadors nor the Senate were willing to make their Propofals. It was agreed that the Spanish Ambassador, who wished well to both, should be admitted into their Councils. He was of Opinion that the Pisans might return under the Florentine Dominion, not as Subjects, but as Confederates, or rather under their Protection, and enjoy the fame Charter and Privileges as had been allowed to the City of Pistoia; which would be a fort of Medium

223

224

The Venetians objected that no Traces of Liberty, could remain in a City, where the Fortifications and Administration of Justice were in the Hands of another Power. Thus the Ambassadors finding unsuccess- no Hopes of succeeding quitted Venice, fully persuaded that the Venetians would never abandon Pisa, whither they were continually sending Recruits, without being constrained to it.

THE Senate had not much to fear this Year from the Florentines, who had not taken the Field early in the Spring, and the Season being far advanced, could not keep the Field much longer on account of the Floods, to which the Country about Pisa is, by its low Situation, very fubject. They ordered a new Levy of Five Hundred Men at Arms, to be commanded by the Duke of Urbino, to whom they gave the Title of Governor, and who, purfuant to fome Intelligence, was to make a Diversion by attacking the Florentines on a different Quarter. They purposed also to serve themselves of Piero de

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de' Medici, on whose account they levied A. D. Two Hundred Men at Arms under Carlo 1498. Orfino and Bartolomeo Alviano. Nor were they without Hopes of inducing Bentivoglio to invade the Country on the Side of the Bolognese. For the Duke of Milan, it feems, was diffatisfied with him because his Son Annibale Bentivoglio had preferred the Venetian Service before the Duke's. And this new Offence revived the Memory of former Injuries, which he pretended he had received from him. For when Ferdinando Duke of Calabria marched into Romagna, Bentivoglio took that Opportunity to feize on some Castles of the Milanese, which, he said, belonged to his Son Alessandro by Right of Dowry. But by the Mediation of the Florentines, the Castles were restored to Lodovico, which frustrated the Venetians in their Hopes of Affistance from Bentivoglio. They applied next to the Sanefe, whom they had Reason to think not averse to their Measures; for besides the natural Disposition of that People to take up Arms against the Florentines, they happened to be in a great Ferment at that Time on the follow-P

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226

A. D. following Occasion. The Duke of Urbino, and the Orfini with Two Thousand Foot and Four Hundred Stradiotti, had halted at La Fratta in the Territory of Perugia, from whence they fent a Message to the Government of Siena to desire a Passage through their Territory. Pandolfo Petrucci, who by his superior Posts and Management had raifed himself to the fupreme Dignity in that Republic, was for granting a Passage; but Nicolo Borghese, his Father-in-Law, with the Family of the Belanti opposed it, merely in Contradiction to Pandolfo, of whose Power they were jealous. They pleaded that to grant a Truce to the Florentines, as Pandolfo and the Duke of Milan would perfuade them, was only giving them an Opportunity of first subjecting Pisa, and then turning with their whole Force against Siena. On the contrary, the Republic, like a wife State, ought to improve the present Juncture, and not enter into any Treaty that was not like to produce a folid Peace, in which Monte Pulciano should be yielded to the Senese. They were conscious, that the Government of Florence ·vidil.

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227 A. D. 1498.

Florence would never make this Concession, and expected that the Venetians, for for fignal a Service, would affift them in diminishing Pandolfo's Authority. As for Pandolfo, he found great Difficulty in gaining his Point, for the Populace had a natural Antipathy to the Florentines, and it was urged, with a plaufible Air, that they had a fair Opportunity now given them of obliging the Florentines under their present Distress to give up Monte Pulciano. These Reasons seemed to outweigh those of Pandolfo, who, on his Side, represented, besides the common Calamities of War, the Danger of permitting the Venetians to have a Footing in Tuscany. He insisted on this Point with much Warmth, and told the People that they had no Occasion to look out for foreign Examples, it being fresh in the Memory of many then present, that in the Year 1478, when they joined Ferdinando King of Naples against the Florentines they were on the Point of being enflaved by that Prince, which nothing could have prevented, had not the Ottoman Emperor, by taking Otranto, obliged P 2 the

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228

A. D. the King to recall his Son Alfonso with his Forces from Siena. In their own History they might also find the Time when, out of Resentment to the Florentines on account of this very Monte Pulciano, they put the State under the Subjection of Count Virtu, to induce him to take up Arms against that Republic. These Arguments, how just soever, were not powerful enough to bring the People into Pandolfo's Sentiments. He found himself therefore under a Necessity to call to his Affistance many of his Friends out of the Country, by whose Concurrence having fecured the public Peace and himfelf from Tumults, he made a Five Year's Truce with the Florentines, who, in return, paying a greater Regard to their Fear of the prefent Danger than to the Dignity of the State, obliged themselves to destroy part of the Bridge of Valiano, together with the Redoubt, which had given fo much Umbrage to the Sanese, who were permitted to erect what Forts they pleafed between Chiane and Monte Pulciano. This Treaty raised Pandolfo's Power and Authority to fuch a Height, as enabled him

229

1498.

not long after to get his Father-in-Law A. D. condemned to die for ardently oppofing his Measures; which struck such a Terror into the Party, that they quietly suffered him to rule the State in as absolute a Manner as he pleafed.

THE Venetians being thus disappointed at Siena, and not able to obtain a Passage for their Troops through the Territory of Perugia, refolved to attack the Florentines by the Way of Romagna, where they expected, that, by Means of Piero de' Medici's Interest, it would be easy to reduce the Towns in the Apennines. For this Purpose they obtained Leave of the petty Lord of Faenza to march a Body of Troops through the Valley of Lanione, accompanied by Piero and Giuliano de' Medici, who took Poffession of Marradi, a Town on the Appennines facing Romagna, without Opposition, for Dionigi di Naldo, a Gentleman whose Estate lay in the Valleys Cambetween those Hills, who had Orders to paign in affemble the Peafants, and to raife Three Romagna. Hundred Soldiers, had fo few Troops with him, that he thought fit to quit the

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Place

A. D. Place and retire. The Venetians then laid fiege to Castiglione, a Fort seated on an Eminence above Marradi, and were in Hopes of taking it, for there was a Scarcity of Provisions and Water in the Place, and the Conquest of it would have opened them a Passage into Mugello, a Territory contiguous to Florence. But the Dearness of Provisions was happily compensated by the Resolution of the Governor, and the Want of Water by Providence; for there fell such a Quantity of Rain, that in one Night all the Cisterns and Vessels were filled.

In the mean time Count Rinuccio, and the Lord of Piombino, with other Generals, marched through Mugello to the Relief of the Fort, and obliged the Venetians to retire with Precipitation; for as they had expected but little Resistance in those Parts, they were but ill provided to look the Enemy in the Face. As soon as the Duke of Milan received Intelligence of this Irruption, he ordered Count Gajazzo, who was at Cotignuola with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and One Thousand

Thousand Foot, and Fracassa, who was A. D. arrived from Furli with One Hundred Men at Arms, to follow the Invaders. But thefe, to avoid the Danger of being hemmed in between two Armies, turned off and joined the Duke of Urbino, who had marched from Perugia, and was encamped with the rest of the Venetian Forces between Ravenna and Furli, with little Hopes of undertaking any thing of Consequence. For besides the Florentine Troops in Romagna, the Duke of Milan had Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Archers in that Territory, exclusive of One Thousand Foot appointed to guard the important Passes of Furli and Imola.

DURING these Transactions Pagolo Vitelli's Vitelli, having made himself Master of Exploits Vico Pisano, rested there some Days; but Pisan. finding Provisions grow short, and being defirous of straitening more and more the Pisans, he resolved on the Siege of Librafatto. And in order to attack the Place on the weakest Side, and to avoid the Inconveniences attending the March of

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A. D. an Army incumbered with Artillery and heavy Baggage, he chose to avoid the beaten Road that leads over the Hills to the Plains of Pisa, as also another Road, that goes round the Hills from the Plains of Lucca to Librafatta; and, with the Help of a vast Number of Pioneers, made a new Way over the Mountains, by which he marched, taking in by the Way a Redoubt the Pisans had erected on Monte Maggiore, and descended into the Plain of Librafatta unmolested. The next Day without much Difficulty he possessed himfelf of Potito and Castel Vecchio, two Forts near one another, and at a small Distance from the Town; on this last Fort, and some other Places of Advantage, he planted his Artillery, in Hopes that the Walls being by this Means battered above and below, the Breaches might be mounted, and the Place taken the next Day. But in the Night an Arch of the Wall fell down, and filled up the Breach to the Height of Four Braces *; fo that Vitelli having in vain attempted to scale the Walls for Three Days fuccessively, began to doubt

^{*} A Tuscan Brace is 23 Inches.

doubt of Success, and the more because A.D. 1498. the Besiegers were greatly annoyed by a large Piece of Cannon that scoured their Trenches. But Pagolo's Courage and Industry on this Occasion were highly indebted to Fortune, without whose Favour good Generals often find their most promising Hopes frustrated; for a lucky Shot from the Camp difmounted the Enemy's murdering Piece of Cannon, killed one of their best Gunners, and made its Way through the Rampart. This Accident so terrified the Besieged, who besides could not mount the Wall without great Danger from the Cannon on Castel Vecchio, that they capitulated the Librafat-Fourth Day, and furrendered the Town, ta taken. and foon after the Castle when the Cannon began to play.

LIBRAFATTA being taken, Pagolo fet his Men at Work in erecting Forts on the neighbouring Hills, particularly a large and strong Fort at Santa Maria in Castello, which from the Mount on which it was seated was called Ventura; from this Fort he made Excursions all over the Country.

234 A. D.

1498.

Country. It is reported that on this very Spot of Ground, Castruccio of Lucca, a famous Commander, formerly built a Castle, by means of which, and of Libra-fatta, he intercepted all Convoys of Provisions coming to Pisa from Lucca and Pietra Santa,

THE Venetians, always attentive on every thing that might conduce to the Preservation of Pisa, thought of making an Advantage of some Discontent and Uneafiness of the Marquis of Mantua, who was in the Duke of Milan's Service, and was diffatisfied at his being refused the Title of Captain-General, which Lodovico did not think fit to grant, lest it should offend Giovanni Galeazzo da Sanfeverino, on whom he had conferred that Honour, more out of personal Regard, than for true Merit. But he made the Marquis a Promise that in Three Months Time he would procure him the Title of Captain-General, either from the King of the Romans, or from the Pope, or from the King of Naples, or at least from the Florentines. The Three Months being elapsed,

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235 A. D. 1498,

elapsed, and nothing done in his Favour, and his Pay being also in Arrear, the Marquis applied himself to the Venetians, offering to enter again into their Service. They accepted this Offer of the Marquis, and agreed to fend him to Pisa at the Head of Three Hundred Men at Arms. Lodovico being apprifed of this Negotiation, with Galeazzo's Confent, declared him Captain-General both of his own and Cæsar's Forces. But the Marquis had already been at Venice, and, notwithstanding the Opposition made by the Florentines, had accepted of their Commission, had received a Sum of Money to enable him to march to the Affistance of the Pifans, and was returned to Mantua to put himfelf in Readiness. And had the Venetians been as expeditious in dispatching as they were in enlifting him, they might have retained him, and fecured him in their Service: But they proceeded flowly, on account of an Offer that was made them by fome old Friends of the Medici, who engaged to deliver the Castle of Bibiena in the Casentino into their Hands, and representing the Difficulties of fending

A. D. 1498. Reinforcements to Pisa, inclined the Senate to conclude it more expedient to set their Thoughts on making Diversions than on sending Succours. The Marquis provoked at this Delay, returned into Lodovico's Service with Three Hundred Men at Arms and One Hundred light Horse, and was complimented with the Title of Captain-General of the Imperial and Milanese Forces. As for the Money he had received of the Venetians, he pretended it was his Due upon old Arrears.

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The Plot concerning Bibiena was not carried on so fecretly but that the Florentines got notice of it, and having been informed of all the Particulars from Bologna, immediately deputed a Commissary to Bibiena to prevent the Danger. But the most careful and prudent Designs are rendered vain and useless, when negligently or imprudently conducted. The Commissary indeed immediately secured the most suspected, but was afterwards weak enough to release them on the bare Credit of their own Affeverations; and took so little Precaution in other Respects, that he facilitated

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237 tated the Measures of the Disaffected. A. D. 1498. Alviano, who was intrusted with the Execution of the Plot, dispatched some of his Horsemen, accoutred like Travellers, who riding all Night arrived by Break of Day at Bibiena, and feized on a Gate Bibiena of the Town without Opposition, for the taken by Commissary had placed no Guard, nor so gem. much as given Orders, as in fuspicious Times he ought, not to open the Gates fo early as usual. This first Party was foon followed by fuccessive Detachments of Horse, who gave out on the Road, that they belonged to Vitelli. Their Friends in the Town had now no more to do but to declare themselves openly with all Security, and thus was the Place taken without a Blow *. Alviano arrived the same Day, and tho' his Force was but fmall,

^{*} Bembo writes that the Venetians passed for Florentines come to reinforce the Garrison, by which Stratagem they had before got Possession of the famous Monastery of Camaldoli. Buonocorsi says that Piero de' Medici and Alviano sent a Gentleman with a Letter signed with Ten counterfeit Names of Magistrates of Florence, ordering Quarters to be provided for Eighty Horse on their March thither commanded by Giulio Vitelli, by which Means Alviano with One Hundred Horse was admitted into the Town instead of Vitelli.

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238

A. D. small, yet as he was never wanting to push his good Fortune with all possible Celerity, he immediately invested Poppi, the strongest Fortress in the Vale of Bibiena; but finding it well provided, he thought fit to draw off, and take Poffession of all the little Places in the Neighbourhood of Bibiena, tho' of no great Importance. The River Arno runs through the Casentino, which is a narrow, rocky, and barren Country, at the Foot of the Appennines, at that Time covered with Snow, as it was the beginning of Winter; but it was a Pass that, if Poppi had been taken, would have commanded the Road to Florence, and lay no less convenient for a Passage into the rich and fertile Territories of Arezzo and Valdarno, which are full of Towns and Villages, and of great Importance to the Florentines, who were by no means wanting to themselves in so dangerous a Juncture, but made Provision of all Things necessary for Defence in every Place that required. And by keeping good Intelligence, they had the good Fortune to discover and suppress a Conspiracy forming against them at Arezzo, imme-

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239 immediately fent Orders to Count Rinuccio, A. D. who was in the Pisan, to march and posses himself of the Passes between Valdibagno and La Pieva San Stefano, in order to prevent the Venetians from pouring more Troops into the Casentino. But all their Precaution could not hinder the Duke of Urbino, Carlo Orfino, and other Urbino in-Generals, with Seven Hundred Men at vades the Arms, Six Thousand Foot, and some German Mercenaries, from penetrating into that Country, and intirely subjecting the same, except the Fortress of Poppi, which was a fecond time attempted in vain.

THIS unexpected Irruption put the Florentine Florentines under a Necessity of recalling Forces Pagolo Vitelli with his Forces from the march a-Pisan, which was what the Venetians Duke. chiefly had in View by making this Diversion. That General leaving sufficient Garrisons in Fort Ventura and other important Places *, marched into the Casentino, and obliged the Enemy to quit the

^{*} Bembo tells us that Vitelli gave a general Assault to Pija before he went off.

240 A. D.

Neighbourhood of Prato Vecchio, where they had begun to entrench themselves, and being afterwards joined by Fracassa with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Foot from the Duke of Milan, reduced them to great Straits. The Venetians were dispersed in small Bodies, for Conveniency of Quarters, and were besides obliged to post several Corps in the Passes of Verni, Chiusi, and Montalone, fituate on the Tops of the Apennines, to fecure themselves a Retreat. had now little Hopes left of making any Progress here or elsewhere, for Rinuccio with Two Hundred Lances had thrown himself into Arezzo, and the Peasants were by no Means their Friends, being disaffected to the Family of the Medici, and besides their Horses wanted Forage in that hilly Country. For these Reasons it was thought fit to fend back the Artillery with part of the heavy Baggage, and to draw their Quarters as close as the Situation of the Country would permit.

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VITELLI had determined to proceed with Caution, and to attempt nothing with

with Precipitation, as he was naturally A. D. wary and patient. To obtain a confiderable Advantage, he never regarded Length of Time, or Hardship of Fatigue. would not, to fave Expences, venture on an Undertaking without an abundant Supply of all Necessaries; neither would he, for the Glory of obtaining an easy and fpeedy Victory, rashly endanger his Army, and the Success of his Enterprize. this Disposition he deferred the Attack of the strong Places in the Casentino till he had made himself Master of the weakest, and secured the Passes of the Apennines, with Guards, Forts, and other Incumbrances, by spoiling the Roads, and felling Trees across them, by which means the Enemy would not only be prevented from receiving fresh Supplies, but be disabled from giving Affistance to each other from their different Quarters. In this manner he hoped to diffress them, not doubting but their chief Strength, which lay in and about Bibiena, would foon be put to Hardships for want of Provisions and Forage. With this View he took Poffession of feveral small Places, infignificant in themfelves,

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A. D. felves, but serviceable to his Purposes, and afterwards surprised several Men at Arms in their Quarters about Bibiena. As foon as he received Intelligence that the Venetians were affembling a Body of Men on the other Side of the Mountains, he possessed himself of the Places about Mount Verna, and blocked up all the Passes, and fpoiled the Roads, to prevent their marching to the Succour of their Troops on this Side the Hills in the Casentino, by which Means the Enemy's Forces in that Country were greatly diffressed, Numbers deferted, and many others fell into the Hands of the Peasants in that rough and difficult Country, and were stripped and plundered.

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T H o' the Florentine Ambassadors had Venetians left Venice without Success, another the War. Negotiation was fet on Foot in Ferrara, at the Sollicitations of the Venetians. For many of the graver Senators began to be tired of a War that was maintained at fo vast an Expence, and attended with such Difficulties; and as they had now no Prospect of making any farther Progress

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in the Casentino, they grew more and A. D. more desirous of relinquishing their vexatious Engagements with Pisa, provided they could extricate themselves with Honour.

ALL this while the King of France King of was making Preparations to invade the France treats with Milanese the following Year, and expected the Veneto be joined by the Venetians, the mortal tians, Enemies of Lodovico. For this End he entered into a Treaty of strict Alliance with the Republic. But he treated with more Freedom and Confidence of a firm Union with the Pope; who, tho' disappointed of an Alliance with Federigo by his rejecting the Match proposed by his Holinefs, still retained his ambitious Views towards the Kingdom of Naples, and put all his Trust in the King for obtaining, through his Means, Federigo's Daughter Charlotta, who was brought up at the French Court, for his Son Cardinal Valenza. Lewis, at whose Disposal the Princess and with feemed to be, had given the Pope En-the Pope. couragement to hope that his Defire would be gratified. On this Prospect the Car-

A. D. Cardinal came one Morning into the Confiftory, and humbly intreated his Holiness and their Eminences the Cardinals for Leave to divest himself of his Ecclefiaftic Habit and Dignity, and to follow that Profession to which he seemed ordained by Fate. On giving their Confent, he clothed himself in secular Apparel, and prepared for his Journey to France. The Pope had already promifed to fend the King a Bull for his Divorce, and Lewis in return had obliged himself, as foon as he should have conquered the Dutchy of Milan, to affift him in reducing to the Obedience of the Apostolic See the Cities possessed by the Vicars in Romagna, and to pay him immediately Thirty Thousand Ducats, which his prefent Exigences required. This Sum, he pretended, was no more than what was necessary for the King's Interest, since he was obliged to keep an extraordinary

Guard to defend himself from Conspira-

cies, which he expected would be formed against him on account of his Union with France. In the Execution of this

Treaty the King began with paying the

Money,

Articles of the Treaty.

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Money, and the Pope committed the A. D. Affair of the Divorce to his Nuncio the Bishop of Ceuta, and to the Archbishops of Paris and Rouen. The Queen at first pleaded in Court by her Counsel, but finding she could not confide in her Judges, and that she must at last be obliged to fubmit to the King's Power, she withdrew her Plea, and gave up the Cause, agreeing to accept of the Revenues of the Dutchy of Berry for her Maintenance, with an Addition of Thirty Thousand Livres Yearly. The Sentence Lewis of Divorce was pronounced by the Judges, divorced. and nothing now remained for the Solemnization of the new Marriage, but the Dispensation to be brought by Cæsar Borgia, who from Cardinal and Archbishop of Valenza, now became a Soldier and Duke Valentino, for the King had made him a Captain of One Hundred Lances, with a Salary of Twenty Thousand Livres, and gave him the City of Valence in Dauphiné, with the Title of Duke, and a Revenue of Twenty Thousand Livres more *. The Duke embarked at Oftia

^{*} Valence, a City in Dauphiny, is the Capital of the Valentinois, and was erected into a Dutchy for Cafar Borgia.

THE HISTORY OF

246

A. D. on board a Squadron the King had fent thither for that Purpose, and arrived at Court the latter End of the Year with great Pomp and Magnificence, where he

Archbp. of Rouen made a Cardinal.

was received by the King with wonderful Marks of Esteem. He brought with him a Cardinal's Hat for George D'Amboise, who had constantly attended the King both in his good and bad Fortune, and had a great Share in his Confidence. But Valentino's first Step at Court was by no means satisfactory. He pretended that he had not brought with him the Bull of Dispensation, being thus instructed by his Father, who imagined that the King's Eagerness would forward his Designs, and that he would be fooner induced to gratify him with the Expectation than with the Remembrance of a Benefit. But the Bishop of Ceuta, under a Promise of Secrecy, revealed the whole Mystery. Wherefore the King being well fatisfied in his Conscience of the Expedition of the Bull, made no farther Scruple, but went to Bed to his new Bride *. The

Duke

The Wife from whom Lewis was divorced was Gio-

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247

Duke then thought fit to produce the A. D. 1498. Bull, but being informed how he had been betrayed by the Bishop, he took care afterwards to have him dispatched by Poison.

THE King was now very follicitous Lewis to prevent Disturbances from the neigh-a Peace bouring Princes. He concluded a Peace with Spain with the King of Spain, and that Monarch resolving to interfere no more in the Affairs of Italy, recalled all his Ambaffadors from that Country, excepting one at Rome, and ordered Gonfalvo and his Forces to return into Spain, yielding to Federigo those Places in the Province of Calabria which he had hitherto detained.

But Lewis found it more difficult to accommodate Matters with the King of the Romans, who took Occasion from fome Tumults arising in Burgundy, to enter that Country; for which Purpose he was furnished by Lodovico with a confiderable

Giovanna, Sister to Charles VIII. a crooked Lady. His new Wife was Anne Dutchess of Bretany, Widow of Charles VIII.

fiderable Sum of Money, on a Presumption that a War with Cafar would prevent the Italian Expedition, or if a Peace was concluded that he should be comprehended in the Treaty, as Maximilian had promised him. But after some Time spent in negotiating the King figned a Treaty with the Archduke, by which he restored to him the Towns he possessed in the Province of Artois. The King of the Romans was fo well fatisfied with this Peace, so advantageous to his Son, that he agreed to a Truce for feveral Months, without any Mention of Lodovico, with whom he pretended to be diffatisfied, for not continuing to comply with his exorbitant Demands of Money.

Lewis land.

A. D.

1498.

THE King of France also confirmed the Peace the Peace his Predecessor had made with with Eng. England, and having thus taken all Precautions for the Security of his Dominions, he rejected all the Overtures made him by the Duke of Milan, who had corrupted feveral of the Courtiers, and tried all Methods to get both Venetians and Florentines into his Interest. And that Pisa might

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might be no Bar to his Designs, he pressed A. D. the Venetians to deposite the same in his 1498. Hands; and to induce the Florentines not to raise Objections, he underhand promised to restore it to them after a short Time *. This Treaty, which was full of Difficulties, and entered into with different Views and anima and Interests, was for several Months variously conducted. For the Florentines in the Case under Consideration must have entered into an Alliance with France, and as it was doubted whether Lewis was a more religious Observer of his Treaties than his Predecessor had been, the Government could not agree amongst themfelves. Thus the City, agitated between the Ambition of the chief Citizens and the Licentiousness of the popular Government, and at the same Time engaged with the Duke of Milan on account of Pisa, was so divided, that it was with great Difficulty that any thing of Moment

^{*} The Florentines agreed to have Pisa deposited in the King's Hands, but used their Endeavours to have it deposited in the Hands of Pagolo Vitelli, the King's Friend, or with the College of Cardinals, who should be impowered to deliver it without the Pope's Consent, Buonacorfi.

THE HISTORY OFT

250 could be fettled, while some of the great A. D. Men wished the Downfal of the Duke of Milan by the Hands of the French, and others were as much in his Interest.

refore is to them after a mort Time *.

Deposite.

THE Venetians, how much foever against the inclined to enter into an Alliance with France, were determined not to yield to the Deposite, for they expected better Terms, both as to the Reimbursment of their Expences, and with respect to their Honour, from the Treaty at Ferrara. Lodovico chose also to have this Matter rather fettled by the Duke of Ferrara, lest the depositing of Pisa might be a Means of uniting the Venetians and Florentines with France. He was not without Hopes also that if Affairs were once determined by the Italians themselves, the Venetians might be induced to give over all Thoughts of attempting any thing to his Prejudice. But these were the very Reasons why Lewis did not approve the Treaty of Ferrara; and the Pope, always on the Watch to take Advantage of the Misfortunes of others, did his Endeavours to weaken and disturb

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with the King in all Matters relating to Italy, he imagined that if the Treaty concerning the Deposite made any Progress, his Holiness might have a Share in the Management.

IT was now under Deliberation at Venice, whether, in case the French should give up the Point of the Depolite, which they were refolved never to comply with, they should join the French against the Duke of Milan, as they were earnestly follicited, and moreover tempted with an Offer of Cremona, and the whole Ghiradadda. This Acquisition and Enlargement of Dominion was universally liked, and eligible in itself, but the Conditions on which it was to be obtained deserved the most serious Consideration, as it appeared too dangerous to the Republic, to suffer the French Power to grow to an extravagant Height in Italy. A Council of the Pregati, which supplies the Place of the Senate, was fummoned, where after long Debates from time to time, on the Day appointed for coming to a final Refo-

THE HISTORY OFT

he imagined whee all the The

A. D. Resolution, Antonio Grimano, a Senator of great Authority, spoke as follows.

Grimano's Speech.

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" WHEN I confider, illustrious Senators, the immense Favours Lodovico has received from our Republic, which in these latter Years hath often preserved his Dominions, and on the other Hand his vile Ingratitude, and the Injuries he has done us in order to oblige us to abandon the Defence of Pifa, to which he himself had encouraged and incited us. I don't in the least doubt but that it is the general Sentiment of this illustrious Body, that we ought to take a fignal Revenge. For what Infamy can be greater than to be passive under Affronts, which would render us contemptible in the Eyes of all the World. We should be thought degenerated from our glorious Ancestors, who when provoked but by flight Injuries, never refused to undergo any Danger to preserve the Dignity of the Venetian For the Deliberations of Republics require no mean and private Confiderations, or which tend only to Profit, but it is necessary that they should aspire

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253

A. D.

to more noble Ends, by which they may increase their Glory and Reputation, which are eafily loft when they give Occasion to think that we want Spirit to refent Affronts, or Courage to revenge them. But these are both necessary at present, not only for the Pleasure and Sweetness attending a just Vengeance, but that the Punishment of the Offender may serve as an Example to deter others from giving the like Provocation. In fuch a Conduct we shall confult both our Honour and Utility, for generous Refolutions produce Glory and Profit. By fuffering one Inconveniency many greater are often prevented, and one short Trouble may free us from a Train of others. But if we confider the Situation of Affairs in Italy, the Disposition of feveral Powers to molest us, and the Snares and mischievous Devices of Lodovico Sforza, we must be constrained to own that Necessity more than any other Confideration ought to influence us in our present Debate. For the Duke of Milan, incited by his natural Ambition, and his Hatred to this most excellent Senate, not only makes it his perpetual Study

THE HISTORY OF

Study to fet all Italy, with the King of the Romans, and the whole Germanic Body, against us, but has even commenced a Treaty with the Turk for the fame vile Purpose of annoying us. You are all fensible that it is through his Means that we meet with fuch Difficulties, as almost render us incapable of supporting the Pifans, or profecuting the War in the Casentino, which if continued becomes dangerous, and if abandoned shameful, unless we can find some other Way to retrieve our finking Reputation, the Decay of which would elate the Spirits, and gratify the Malice of those who feek our Ruin. All the World knows how much easier it is to depress fuch as appear to be on the Decline, than those who, by their exalted Station, seem placed above the Reach of Envy. You would foon be convinced of this Truth, illustrious Senators, by seeing the Peace of this flourishing State destroyed, and the Noise of War and Tumults would at this Instant alarm our Fears, were not Lodovico kept in suspense by his Apprehenfions of our joining with the French.

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But should we refuse their Offers, these A. D. Apprehensions would foon be at an End: For without our Affistance the King would not undertake this Expedition, and then possibly by the Artifices of Lodovico, or the Corruption of the French Ministry, he might be drawn into a Composition with the Duke of Milan to our Cost and Damage. In this Case therefore if we have the Good of the Republic at Heart, and are zealous to maintain its antient Dignity and Glory, we must resolve with one Confent to join with France, and the more heartily as it appears to be the best Expedient for avoiding the Danger that threatens us. And I think we ought to congratulate ourselves on the good Fortune of this State, which has inclined a mighty King voluntarily to intreat from us what our Interest and Safety should move us to implore from him; and all this on fuch honourable Conditions, and enforced with fuch advantageous Offers, as may render this illustrious Body capable of forming hereafter fome greater and nobler Defigns. Nor have we any Reason to doubt of Success, for where can Lodovico seek an Afylum,

256

A. D. Afylum, whither can he fly for Refuge, when hunted and furrounded by two fuch mighty Powers? The only Objection of which I am aware is, the Danger that may be imagined to threaten our Republic from the Possession of Milan by the French. But even this Objection will lose much of its Force, if it be confidered that in fuch a Posture of Affairs, many Circumstances would appear in our Favour, which are now visibly against us. For it is not to be doubted but fuch an Increase of Power in the French would alarm all Italy, and provoke the Resentments of the King of the Romans and the Germanic Body, who will by no means fuffer fo noble a Member of the Empire to become a Province to France. The Consequence of this must be, that those very States which now fill us with Apprehensions of their confederating with the Duke of Milan against us, would then, for their own Interest, appear in our Defence. And fuch is the universal Reputation of our Power, so current the Fame of our Riches, and, what is still more respectable, such is the confirmed Opinion of our Union and Con-

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Constancy in the Preservation of our A. D. Dominions, illustrated by so many Examples, that the King of France will not venture to attack us, but in Conjunction with other Powers, and especially the King of the Romans; a Confederacy fo ill fuited, and attended with fo many Difficulties, that it would be vain for him to expect it, or for us to fear it. Nor is it to be thought that the Peace which he is now endeavouring to fettle with his Neighbours, will be permanent; for, alas! Envy, Umbrage, and Fears of his Increase of Power, will awaken and reanimate all those who had before found Matter for Dispute or Emulation. It is a general Observation that the French are more resolute in acquiring than prudent in preferving, and how foon they become hateful to their new Subjects by their insolent Behaviour. For which Reason, should they conquer Milan, they will be rather under a Necessity of attending to its Preservation, than find Leisure to enter on other Projects. For a new Conquest, not well fettled, or imprudently governed, rather diminishes than increases the Power of

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258

A.D. of the Conqueror. And have we not a recent and convincing Proof of this Truth in the Management of the late King? How did he fee all the Love and Fondness of the Neapolitans, who had invited his Prefence, and received him with open Arms, all of a fudden converted into Extremity of Hatred and Aversion! The Danger therefore to be apprehended from a French Victory in Time to come, is not of fuch a Nature, that to avoid it we should chuse to remain in present and certain Danger. To refuse, for the sake of future and uncertain Losses, so rich and commodious a Part of the Milanese, could be imputed only to a Want of Refolution, or a kind of Pufillanimity, despicable in private Life, but much more in a Republic, which, excepting the Roman, is the most glorious and powerful that ever existed on Earth. Opportunities like this are rare and transient, and it is the Part of Prudence and a generous Refolution to lay hold of them, as on the contrary it would be Folly and Meanness of Spirit to reject them. Wisdom that is over curious, and too nicely ponders Events,

259 A. D.

Events, is often blameable; for human Affairs are so subject to Viciffitudes, that the Success of an Enterprize rarely answers the End of the wisest Projectors; and that Person who dares not embrace a present Good for fear of a dubious and distant Evil, will in vain repent his lost Opportunity of acquiring Wealth and Glory, out of Fear of an approaching Danger, which he found afterwards vanished. These are the Reasons which induce me to give my Opinion for entering into an Alliance against the Duke of Milan. It is, in my Judgment, highly conducive to our present Safety and Dignity, and is attended with fuch an Acquifition as at any other Time we should fpare neither Trouble nor Expence to obtain; not only for the Importance of the Thing itself, but as it opens a Door for extending our Views, and making further Acquisitions, to the wonderful Augmentation of the Glory and Empire of this most powerful Republic."

This Speech was heard with great Attention, and seemed in general to be R 2 fa-

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A. D. 1498.

favourably received. There were many among the Senators that applauded the Speaker's Greatness of Mind, and his zealous Concern for the Honour and Interest of his Country. But Marchione Trevisano thus replied:

Trevifano's
Speech.

IT is not denied, most prudent Senators, but that the Provocations given to our Republic by Lodovico are exceeding great, and very offensive to our Dignity; yet the greater they are, and the more they excite our Indignation, fo much the more it becomes our Prudence to moderate our just Resentment with Maturity of Judgment, and with Confiderations adapted to the present Welfare of the Republic. The more our Anger or any other Paffion is kindled, the more commendable is it to know how to overcome ourselves, and the greater and juster the Provocation that excites our Refentment, the greater ought to be the Praise. It is therefore the Bufiness of this Senate, so renowned for its Wisdom, and which glories in the Name it has lately acquired of Deliverer of Italy from the French Bondage,

Bondage, maturely to confider with what A. D. Reproaches the might justly be charged, if the French by her Means should be tempted to return. We should do well to reflect on the Danger to which we should lie constantly exposed, whenever that Nation becomes Masters of the Dutchy of Milan. Recall to Memory the Consternation we were in when Charles made the Conquest of Naples. We never thought ourselves secure till we had formed a Confederacy of almost all the Christian Powers against him. But what a Disparity between one Danger and the other! That King, in a manner destitute of every Royal Virtue, was but a weak Prince, and almost ridiculous; and the Kingdom of Naples so far distant from France, that the Supplies which he was continually obliged to fend thither divided his Forces, and by that means his Conquest rather weakened than increased his Power; and that Acquisition being so near the Dominions of the Pope and Spain, made them both his Enemies. But now we must be sensible that the first proceeds on other Views, and the other, R 3 tired

A. D. 1498.

tired with the Affairs of Italy, is determined to stand neuter in the present Juncture. On the other Side, the King now reigning is endowed with fuch natural Parts, that he is rather to be dreaded than despised, and the State of Milan is fo nigh the Kingdom of France, that it is capable of receiving continual Supplies, fo as to leave us no Probability of expelling him without putting all Europe in Motion. Hence it appears that as we are nearest to fo formidable a Power, we must be obliged to be at a vast Expence in time of Peace, and if a War should happen, be greatly distressed. I must own my Aftonishment at what was advanced by the venerable Person who spoke last. He feems to be under no Apprehensions from a King of France Duke of Milan, and, on the other hand, alarms us with the Name of Lodovico Sforza, a petty Prince in Comparison, and much inferior to us in Strength, and who thro' his natural Timidity and Avarice has always rendered his Undertakings abortive. He feemed uneafy and jealous of the Affistance of his own Confederates if they did not come

come into all his Measures, or disagreed amongst themselves; as if it were possible that Governments of different Constitutions and Interests should unite exactly in the fame Sentiments; or that one great Power, collected within itself, and exerting its whole Force, had not much the Advantage of a Confederacy made up of leffer Potentates, who having different Views, and acting from different Motives, must of Consequence disagree in their Operations. It would be in vain to expect that those who had ever wished our Destruction should now lie still and forget all our former Provocations and Encroachments, fince our own Ambition will not fuffer us to take so prudent a Step ourselves at this Juncture. I now not what Grounds we have to expect that the King of the Romans and the Germanic Body will awake out of their Lethargy, and refume their antient Hatred and Jealoufy of France, on account of the Dutchy of Milan; but rather wish they may not take their Revenge upon us, who have fo much increafed our Dominions with the Territories wrested from the House of Austria, and

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THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1498.

from the Empire. Nor can I conceive why the King of the Romans should fooner join with our Republic against France, than with France against us. On the contrary it is more likely that those Barbarians, eternal Enemies to the Italians, should enter into closer Bands of Union, with a View to make us fall an easy Prey to their unbounded Ambition. And they may reasonably expect an easier Victory when thus united with one another against us, than one of them can hope in conjunction with us against the other. But I fee no Reason why we should at all covet an Alliance with the King of the Romans, when we confider his Conduct in our late Confederacy with him, and his Operations in Italy. Lodovico has injured us grievously, I own it; but it can never be Prudence to expose our own State to a dangerous War merely out of Revenge; nor will it be shameful to wait for proper Opportunities, which cannot fail of offering themselves sooner or later; on the contrary it would be highly blameable to shew our Resentment before we can safely strike the Blow. A Government must

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265 A. D. 1498.

must expect to be treated with Scorn, when public Losses are known to be the Consequence of rash and indiscreet Resolutions. But this will be the Case if we follow the Advice given, for it will not be thought that we have entered into the Alliance recommended for the Sake of the common Safety, but every one will judge that we have been influenced by the Defire of acquiring Cremona; and then it will be a common Question, What is become of the antient Prudence, Gravity and Wisdom of the Venetian Senate? And indeed all the World may justly cry out against us for being ourselves guilty of that Rashness and Imprudence we have fo much condemned in Lodovico; I mean inviting the French King into Italy. The Advantage of our being Masters of Cremona would, I admit, be very confiderable on account of its Situation and Strength, which render it in many Respects very commodious to our State. But then we ought to confider whether putting the King of France in Possession of the Dutchy of Milan does not vastly overballance this Conveniency.

I doubt not but upon mature Reflexion we shall be ready to conclude that it is more for our Interest, as well as our Grandeur and Reputation, to be, as we now are, the chief and most absolute Power in Italy, than to have, in the Heart of this Country, and on our Borders, a Prince infinitely superior to our Republic. We have been in times past fometimes in Amity, at other times at Enmity with Lodovico; and this is no more than what may happen continually. The Difficulties concerning Pisa are not fo perplexing but that fome Way of Accommodation may be found; nor are they of that Consequence as to make us endanger the State by precipitate Measures. But we shall never want Occasions to quarrel with the French when they become our Neighbours, from the natural Antipathy of the Italians to all Barbarians, from the Pride of the French, from that Hatred which Monarchs always bear to Republics, and from the Ambition that is constantly moving the more powerful to oppress the weaker. For these Reasons I am not at all allured with the King's Offer

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267 A. D. 1498.

of Cremona. On the contrary I rather dread the Issue, as it will give him a Pretence to attack us; for which Purpose he will be constantly sollicited by the Milanese, who can never be easy at the Alienation of Cremona from their Dutchy; not to mention that the Germans, and King of the Romans will be highly offended, for both Cremona and the Ghiradadda are Members of the Empire. It is not therefore our Interest with new Conquests to create every Day new Enemies, and to raife Jealousies in our Neighbours, the Confequence of which will be, that we must either reduce them all under our Dominion, or expect to be beaten by them all in their Turn; and which of the two is most likely to happen let any one judge who is not refolved to deceive himself. The Wisdom and Caution of this Senate have ever been admired and talked of in every Corner of Italy, and all the World over. I trust it will suffer no Difgrace or Diminution at this time from any rash and dangerous Resolution. give way to Revenge against one's own Interest is Weakness, to be under a greater Concern

is Imprudence; both which being directly opposite to the Wisdom and Gravity of this illustrious Body, I persuade myself that your Resolution on this Head will be calm and circumspect, as it usually is on the like Occasions."

The first Opinion prevails. This Opinion, tho' supported with so many cogent Reasons, and seconded by the gravest and most prudent Senators, could not prevail. The contrary Party carried the Question, in Gratification both to their Revenge and Ambition, two Passions that often lead us astray. The Hatred that most of the Senate had conceived against Lodovico was excessive, and knew no Bounds*, any more than the longing Desire of annexing Cremona, with the Country about it, and all the Ghiaradadda to the Venetian Dominion; an

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^{*} In order to exasperate the People against Lodovico, the common Talk at Venice was, that it was better to make an Alliance with France than with a Traitor, who underhand was trying to make a private Treaty with the King against them; and in order to distress them was united with Florence, and kept Correspondence with the French.

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269

Acquisition indeed of no small Value, for A. D. it yielded a yearly Revenue of One Hundred Thousand Ducats, but of still greater Importance, as it took in almost the whole Course of the River Oglio, and extended their Dominions to the Bank of the Po, and along the River Adda within Fifteen Miles of the City of Milan, and brought them nearer to the Cities of Parma and Piacenza; an Increase of Territory, that gave Reason for Hopes that, whenever the King of France should be obliged to employ his main Strength on the other Side of the Alps against Spain or the Empire, they might have a fair Opportunity of feizing on the Dutchy of Milan; an Event they imagined at no great Distance, both from the natural Levity of the French, who knew better how to conquer than to keep, and from the Constitution of a Republic, which is perpetually the fame, whereas in Kingdoms, by the Death of Sovereigns, Counfels and Measures of Government often fuffer Alterations. They also considered the Difficulties the French would find to live in Friendship and good Harmony with

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. with their new Subjects, on account of the Difference of their Customs and Manners from those of the Italians.

Venetians fign a Treaty with France.

270

THE Question then was carried by a great Majority for entering into a Confederacy with France, and Orders were sent to the Ambassadors of the Republic at the French Court to conclude a Treaty on the Terms proposed, provided no Mention was made of the Affair of Pisa.

deal of Uneasiness, as he expected by the Deposit to unite both Florentines and Venetians in his Interest; and he was also displeased to hear that the Venetians were negotiating at Ferrara on Means for withdrawing their Troops from Pisa, for he expected to have been consulted on that Occasion, and took it ill that, in order to get the better Terms for themselves, they should leave the Florentines in perfect Amity with Lodovico, which could not fail of rendering his Enterprise on Milan more difficult; and as the Conquest

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271 A. D. 1498.

of that Dutchy was to be beneficial to the Venetians, he began to suspect they were not in earnest, and to fear that he should receive no Assistance either from them, or from the Florentines. As he was not willing therefore to continue in a State of Suspense, and resented the Mistrust of his Honour in the Deposit of Pisa, he applied himself seriously to put a finishing Hand to the Peace he was negotiating with the King of the Romans, by which, whilst one of them attacked Lodovico Sforza, the other might, if he pleased, fall upon the Venetians.

Pursuant to this Agreement the King ordered his Ministers to acquaint the Venetian Ambassadors, that he was determined to come into no Treaty with their Masters before the Deposit of Pisa was made; and sending for the Florentine Ministers was pleased to declare, that they might rest secure on his royal Word that he would never sign a Treaty with the Venetians on any other Terms than those which he had proposed. But, in Opposition to these Assurances, Duke Valen-

A. D. Valentino, and the other Agents of the Pope, with the Cardinal of St. Piero in Vincola, and Trivulzio, together with all the rest of the Italians who were interested in the War, offered to his Confideration fo many folid and cogent Reasons, that he thought fit to alter his Resolution. They represented to his Majesty how impolitic it must be to prefer the Friendship of the Florentines before that of the Venetians, who were by much the more powerful State, and by their Situation lay more convenient for diffreffing the Dutchy of Milan. That no Advice could be more pernicious than fuch as would induce him to deprive himself of their Affistance for fear of disobliging the Florentines, who had Work enough upon their Hands, and lay too remote for the Scene of Action, to be of any confiderable Service. That fuch a Step would probably afford an Opportunity to Lodovice of effecting a Reconciliation with the Venetians at the Price of his relinquishing the Florentines, who were the Occasion of all the Difference between them, and, what is more, of entering into a close Alliance

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273 A. D. 1498.

Alliance with them; and what Obstacles and Difficulties might arise from such a Conjunction has been demonstrated by late Experience. In the League that was formed against Charles the Names indeed of mighty Kings were inferted, but no other Forces than those of Lodovico and the Venetians were employed in retaking Novara, and preferving the Dutchy of Milan against the Power of France. They did not forget to remind him how dangerous and fallacious it might prove to rely on the Faith and Friendship of Maximilian, who was forever entering upon great Projects, without Prudence to conceal, or Power to execute them. But should it happen that Fortune proved favourable to his Defigns, the King would do well to confider the Confequence of increasing the Power of an inveterate and eternal Enemy to the Crown of France. Thefe Reasons were of such Weight with the King, that, without mentioning a Word more of Pisa, he entered into a Confederacy with the Venetians.

By this Treaty it was agreed that Vol. II. S while

274 THE HISTORY OF

while the King with a powerful Army A. D. 1498. entered the Milanese, the Venetians should Articles of do the same from their Frontiers: That the Con- as foon as the whole Dutchy should fall federacy. a Conquest to their united Arms, Cremona with all the Ghiaradadda, excepting a Space of about Eighty Feet along the River Adda, should be put into the Possession of the Venetians, the rest of the Dutchy remaining to the King: That for Security of this Acquisition to France, the Venetians should stand obliged to maintain and keep in Readiness a certain Number of Horse and Foot, during a limited Time; the King on his Part engaging to act in the fame manner with respect to Cremona, and all the Places belonging to the Venetians in Lombardy, as far as the Marshes of Venice.

Treaty kept fecret. THESE Articles were kept so very secret, that Lodovico did not come to the Knowledge of them for several Months; all which Time he was doubtful whether they contained any more than a defensive Alliance, as the Parties gave out, or offensive with Regard to him. The

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whole Affair indeed was fo dexteroufly A. D. managed, that even the Pope, who was in fuch Confidence with the King, could not for a long time inform himself of the Particulars. As foon as the Treaty was concluded, the King, avoiding any Mention of Pisa, proposed to the Florentines Terms quite different from the former; and this mortifying Treatment, added to the Vexations they received from the Venetians, put them under the Necessity of espousing the Party of the Duke of Milan, whose Forces had done them fignal Service in the Cafentino.

THE Venetian Troops in the Casentino were continually haraffed by the Peafants as well as by the Soldiers; and after struggling under the Want of Provisions, and especially of Forage, in that hilly Country, were at length obliged to contract their Quarters to Bibiena and the adjacent Villages, yet still kept Possession of the Passes through which they might receive Succours, or retire in Safety when too much preffed. Carlo Orfino, with his Men at Arms and a Hundred Foot, was posted S 2

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A. D. posted at the Pass of Montalone, and lower down Alviano guarded Verria. On the other Hand Pagolo Vitelli proceeding with his usual Caution, after he had reduced the Enemy to fo narrow a Compass, attempted to disposses them of these Passes, that their whole Strength being confined within Bibiena, and furrounded by Enemies and Mountains, they might with Ease be subdued, or dwindle away, being already very much diminished *. For besides small Parties that had been taken marauding about the Mountains, Multitudes of their Foot had deferted, and for Want of Provisions and Forage above Fifteen Hundred of their Horse had gone off at different Times, and been feverely handled and haraffed by the Mountaineers in their Retreat. Carlo Orfino was at last obliged to abandon the Pass of Montalone, and not without fome Danger; for a Party of Florentines, with a Number of Peafants,

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^{*} The Want of Provisions had obliged them to send off Five Hundred Horse, which were intercepted by the Enemy; as were also Four Hundred Foot, and Two Hundred Stradiotti, with the Venetian Proveditor's Secretary, on a Convoy of Money and Provisions to Bibiena. Bembo.

277

A. D. 1498.

Peafants, who knew his Necessity, and expected fuch an Event, attacked him on, the Road. But as he had the Precaution to secure some Defiles towards Bibiena, he cut his Way through with the Loss only of his heavy Baggage, and did confiderable Execution upon the Enemy, who purfued him in Diforder. This Example of Orfini was followed by the Commanders of the Garrisons of Vernia and Chiusi.

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THE Duke of Urbino, Alviano, Astorre Baglione, Piero Marcello the Venetian Proveditor, and Giuliano de' Medici with Sixty Horse and Seven Hundred Foot, now found themselves all cooped up in Bibiena, that being the only Town remaining in their Possession, which they were refolved to defend in hopes of receiving Relief from Venice. The Senate indeed was not wanting to make Preparations for that Purpose, for they thought it dishonourable to the Venetian Arms to be forced out of the Casentino, and by maintaining a War in the Enemy's Country expected better Terms of Peace. To this End they fent pressing Orders to Count

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Pitigliano,

278 A.D.

1498,

Pitigliano, who was affembling fome Troops at Ravenna, to be expeditious, fince they had received repeated Advices from the Duke of Urbino and other Hands at Bibiena, that they began to want Provisions, and, unless speedily relieved, should be obliged to capitulate. The Duke of Milan and his Commanders would have these Succours rendered useless by the Conquest of Bibiena, and for that End defired a Reinforcement of Four Thousand Infantry. But for many Reafons fuch an Enterprize was judged impracticable; fuch as the Bitterness of the Season in that wild and rugged Country, which obstructed the Operations of War, and created other Inconveniencies. fides, the Florentines were in no Condition to make fuch an Augmentation, being quite disheartened at the vast and growing Expence of this vexatious War, and moreover weakened by the Divisions which begun to take Head in their turbulent City.

Divisions THE Partisans of Pagolo Vitelli in in Florence: Florence had formed themselves into a Body,

279

Body, in opposition to those Citizens who A. D. had espoused the Party of Count Rinuccio, an old and trusty General of the Republic, and allied to feveral Persons of the first Rank. The Defeat of St. Regolo, where he had the Misfortune to command, was the Cause of Vitelli's Promotion above him. The Count, who could not well brook Subordination, being fent with his Regiment into the Casentino, was not very readily disposed to execute what he knew would only add to his Adversary's Reputation. This Misunderstanding between the two Generals was exasperated by Pagolo's Temper and Conduct, for he was profuse of the public Money among his Troops, forever diffatisfied with the Florentine Commissaries, and often, both in Council and in the Field, feemed to arrogate to himself more Authority than became his Station. He had very lately, without acquainting the Government, granted a Pass to the Duke of Urbino, who was fick, for retiring out of the Casentino *; and under Protection of the

* Bembo says the Duke had been denied a Physician before he sollicited a Pass,

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278 A.D.

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panied him; to the great Mortification of the Florentines, who imagined that if the Duke had been drove to Straits, and refused a Pass, he would willingly have given up Bibiena for the Benefit of returning into his own Dominions for the Recovery of his Health. The Adversaries of Pagolo highly exclaimed at the Indulgence shown to Giuliano de' Medici, their

Florentines dissatissied with Vitelli.

Recovery of his Health. The Adversaries of Pagolo highly exclaimed at the Indulgence shown to Giuliano de' Medici, their fellow Citizen, who after being declared a Rebel, had marched in open Arms against his Country. This Conduct of the General had greatly leffened him in the Esteem of the Government, and his Demands were not fo readily granted. He had also lost his Popularity by his Proceedings in the Casentino, where what Advantages had been gotten were more owing to the Peafants than to the Soldiery; and also because depending on his Valour they had long fince expected he would have put an End to the War in those Parts, attributing, as is usual with the Populace, to his Want of good Will, what was in reality owing to the Place of Action, the Season, and Want of Pro-

281

Provisions. As the Reinforcement of A. D. Four Thousand Men which had been demanded did not arrive, Count Pitigliano had Time to advance as far as Elci, a Castle belonging to the Duke of Urbino on the Borders of the Florentines, where he took a Review of all the Forces there assembled, with an Intent to pass the Apennines, for which they were properly chosen and qualified with respect to that difficult Country, being mostly Foot, and Men at Arms lightly armed; and this was the last Effort made by the Venetians in the Casentino.

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PAGOLO VITELLI leaving a sufficient Vitelli Number of Troops to block up Bibiena, against the and to secure some important Passes, Venetians. marched with the rest to the Pieve of St. Stefano, a Village belonging to the Florentines at the Foot of a high Mountain, in order to oppose the Enemy, whose Way lay down the Hill. But Count Pitigliano, who saw before him Mountains of Snow, and at the Foot of them expected a powerful Opposition, in narrow Desiles, which would have rendered his

Day, would not attempt the Passage, tho pressed by the Venetians, as he used to say, with provoking rather than encouraging Orders. He had several Plans laid before him for making Diversions, and was advised to march into the Valdibagno, where the Florentines had lost some Towns; but he would not alter his Resolution.

Steps towards a Peace.

Bur the more coolly the War was profecuted, the more ardent was the Defire of Peace on both Sides. As for Lodovico, he fincerely wished a Reconciliation of the Parties, in hopes that an Accommodation would render the Venetians less fond of seeing the French in Italy; and he also flattered himself that they would abate of their Indignation, when they were convinced of his Sincerity by his taking fo much Pains to bring about a Peace. With this View he applied himself in earnest to Ercole d' Este, his Father-in-Law, intreating him that in a gentle, but by no means threatening Manner, he would address himself to the Florentines,

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Florentines (who knew of his Application, A. D. and begun to suspect him) and dispose them to comply in some measure with the Defire of the Venetians in relation to a Peace; because if an Agreement could not be concluded, he should be constrained to withdraw all, or the greatest part of his Forces from Tuscany. This Affair was in Agitation feveral Months at Ferrara, where new Difficulties still arising, at last Ercole was defired to come to Venice to facilitate the Matter. The Duke objected to this, but much greater Oppofition was made at Florence, where it was known that the Venetians chose to have Ercole the fole Umpire of their Disputes. But Lodovico was fo preffing in his Sollicitations that at last the Duke consented to go, and the Florentines fent to Venice Giovanni Battista Ridolfo, and Pagolo Antonio Soderini, two Persons of the first Rank and Character in their Republic.

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THE first Point that came under Treaty of Debate was, Whether Ercole was to arbi-Peace in Agitation. trate and put an End to all Disputes, or was only to act as Mediator between the Parties

A. D. 1498.

Parties by endeavouring to compose their Differences, and for that End reducing the principal Articles in Dispute into a narrow Compass, as he had done some Time before at Ferrara *. The Florentines were for having him act in this last Capacity, as Mediator only, being fensible that Ercole was more disposed to favour the Venetians, than their Republic; and that if he was to pass his Judgment in Venice, he would in a manner be under a Necessity of gratifying that Senate; and that tho' he should be otherwise inclined, yet he would be biaffed by the Duke of Milan, who at that time was feeking Occasion to lay the Venetians under some Obligation to himself. And the' many Difficulties had been removed at Ferrara, there still remained some delicate Points to be adjusted; and even what was settled might perhaps be altered if left to his

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^{*} The Duke three Days after his Arrival at Venice acquainted the Senate that he had his Sentence in Writing, which he would deliver them; and that if they did not like it, they might alter it to their Mind. Giorgio Cornaro approved of this Offer, but the rest rejected it as injurious to their Honour. The Florentines had some Intimation of this, and grew jealous of the Duke. Bembo.

285

fole Arbitration. On the other Hand A. D. the Venetians were determined, if the Duke was not Umpire, to come into no Terms whatever; not fo much because they reposed a Confidence in the Duke, as for other special Reasons. The People in general were heartily tired of a War, which was vastly expensive, without Hopes of Recompence; but the young and high-spirited among the Senators were resolved to hearken to no Peace, but on Condition that the Liberties of the Pisans should be preserved, and that they should be put in Possession of those Places in their Territory which they held Debates when the Republic received them under at Venices her Protection. They used many Arguments in support of this Resolution, especially their own Decree for maintaining the Liberty of the Pisans, which obliged them in Honour and Conscience not to let them fall a Sacrifice. Others, tho' less scrupulous on that Head, were yet immoderate in their Demands for the Reimbursement of the Expences which the Republic had incurred in the Defence of Pisa. But the Senators of the foundest JudgA. D. 1498.

Judgment, and greatest Authority, were of a different Sentiment. They were grown weary of a tedious and expensive War, despaired of preserving Bibiena, and found it very difficult to fend Succours to Pifa, or make any Diversions to the Purpose, and the Florentines much stronger than they had imagined. They confidered further that tho' a War against the Duke of Milan was reckoned an easy Task, yet the King of France had not as yet come to an Agreement with the King of the Romans; and many other Accidents might happen to retard his Motions. That tho' he should surmount all his present Difficulties, and declare War, yet War is still subject to Casualties, and many great and unforeseen Dangers might arise in the Profecution. But what gave them most Concern, and mightily alarmed their Fears, was the Report of the vast Preparations making by Bajazet, both by Sea and Land, for invading their Dominions in Greece. On this Confideration they thought it of the last Importance to make an End of this War, and not for the Sake of adhering too pertinaciously

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to the Faith of a political Promise con- A. D. tinue to labour under a Load of Calamities. Since the refuming of the Treaty of Ferrara these last mentioned prudent Senators, foreseeing it would be necessary to give up some Points, which might be strongly controverted, had very wisely prevailed with the Council of the Pregadi to intrust the Council of Ten with full Power and ample Authority to remove all Difficulties on this Head. This Council of Ten confifted of chosen Senators of fingular Gravity and Prudence, and mostly of the pacific Strain, who were for an Accommodation with the Florentines. But now fince the Matter was to receive its full Determination at Venice, they despaired of bringing the Council of the Pregadi to agree to the Articles that had been drawn up at Ferrara; and on the other hand they were willing to avoid the Cenfure of the Public, which they were fure to incur by determining the Affair them-They resolved therefore that the whole should be left to the Arbitration of the Duke of Ferrara, with an Intent that all the Blame of the Decision might be thrown

1498.

thrown on the Umpire, promifing themfelves that a Judgment pronounced by a Person to whom both Parties had referred the Controversy, would be sooner ratified than what might be concluded in a Treaty between the contending Powers. The Refult was, that after fome Days spent in Disputes, the Duke of Milan threatening the Florentines immediately to recall his Troops from Tuscany, they thought it best to hesitate no longer, but fubmitted to an Arbitration, and both Duke of Parties invested the Duke with an absolute Authority, for the Space of Eight Days, to decide and put an End to all their Ercole, after much Dif-Differences.

Ferrara made Umpire.

6th of April gave his Sentence and De-His Deter- termination, by which it was decreed that in Eight Days next enfuing all Hostilities

should cease between the Florentines and the Venetians: That on St. Mark's Day next at farthest, the Allies of both the Pifans and the Florentines should withdraw their Troops out of Tuscany into their own Territories; and particularly that the Venetians should recall all their

cussion, and mature Deliberation, on the

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Forces from Pifa and its Territory, and A. D. evacuate Bibiena, with all other Places taken from the Florentines; who on their part were to grant a full Amnesty to the Inhabitants of Bibiena for all Offences: That in Confideration of the Charges incurred by the Venetians, which they estimated at no less than Eight Hundred Thousand Ducats, the Florentines should pay them Fifteen Thousand Ducats yearly concernfor the Term of Twelve Years: Thating the the Pisans should have full Power and Pisans. free Liberty to exercise any Trade or Calling both by Land and Sea: That they should continue in Possession of the Castles of Pisa and other Places which they held at the Time of passing this Decision, and might garrison them with Pifans, or Foreigners, provided they were not of any State suspected by the Florentines: That these Garrisons should be paid out of the Taxes raifed by the Florentines on the Pifans; but that no larger Sums should be levied, nor more standing Troops maintained, than was practifed before the Rebellion: That the Pisans should be permitted to demolish all the Vol. II. Castles

A. D. 1498.

Castles and fortified Places in their Territory, which they had taken from the Florentines while they were under the Protection of the Venetians: That in Pifa the Chief Justice in Civil Cases should be a Foreigner, elected by the Pisans themselves out of a Country not obnoxious to the Florentines; and that a Justice commissioned by the Florentines might have Power to receive Appeals, but not in criminal Cases where Death, Banishment or Confiscation were concerned, without the Presence of an Assistant Justice or Assessor, commissioned by Ercole or his Successors, to be elected by him or them out of Five Civilians of the Dutchy of Ferrara nominated by the Pisans: That all Goods moveable and immoveable should be restored on both Sides, but without any Allowance for Interest. In all other Cases the Florentines might affert their Rights in the Pisan, and the Pisans were to engage for the future not to take up Arms against the Florentines on any Account whatfoever.

As foon as this Decree or Sentence of

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291

of the Duke was published in Venice the M. D. whole Town was in an Uproar, and both the Noblesse and the Plebeians were full Venetians of nothing but Invectives against Ercole, disconand the chief Managers of the Treaty tented at the Decree They exclaimed at the Indignity and Reproach cast upon the Republic, for abandoning the Pisans after so solemn an Engagement to defend them. They complained also that the Sums settled for the Reimbursement of their Expences bore no Proportion to their just Demand.

But the Disappointment and Distress of the Pisan Ambassadors, and the Resentment of that People were inexpressible. They had been all this Time artfully made to expect that the Liberty of their Country should be preserved, and that not only their whole Territory restored, but that the important Port of Liverne would probably be assigned them; whereas this inauspicious Decree not only extin-

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^{*} The Venetians were so exasperated by this Determination, that they hooted the Duke whenever he appeared, and upbraided him with a Breach of Trust. So hard was it to satisfy all Parties, that not one of the three concerned in this Decision was pleased. Bemba.

A. D. 1498.

guished all future Expectations, but des prived them of what little they had left valuable. They filled Venice with loud Complaints of the Injustice done them. and recounted to every one they met the advantageous Offers they had refused from Princes and States, relying on the Faith of the Venetians: That they had often rejected better Terms offered them by the Florentines themselves; and that they were betrayed and made a Sacrifice by those in whom they had reposed an entire Confidence; that they were left destitute, without any Provision made for their Safety, except in outward Shew; and vain Pretence. For what Security could they expect for their Liberties when the Florentines shall have constituted Magistrates, modelled the Government after their own Mind, and engroffed all the Commerce into the Hands of their own Merchants? Or what should hinder that, when the Peafantry, which had been the Sinews of their Defence, should be returned to their Labour, they might not make themselves absolute Masters of the Lives and Fortunes of the Citizens, especially

293 1499.

cially as the Guard of the City Gates is A. D. to be in their Hands? And of what Use is it with regard to their Safety, to have the Forts in their Possession, where the Garrisons are to be paid by the Florentines, especially as it was not permitted them to keep larger Garrisons in so critical a Juncture than were kept in Times of profound Peace? The Article of Indemnity was a meer Formality; for of what Use would it be to them not to pay the Interest when the Merchandise and Moveables they had feized at the Time of the Revolution amounted to more than the Value of all their present Effects, which on Examination would be declared forfeited, and then feized, and not being found fufficient to answer the Demand, the Owner becomes liable to be arrested and hurried to a Goal.

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SOME eminent Persons of the Vene-Explana. tian Senate, of a pacific Temper, who tory Adwere willing to fee an End of all Discon-thought tents and Murmurings, tho' the Eight necessary. Days of the Compromise were elapsed, induced Ercole, who thought himself in

Danger

294

Danger from the incenfed Populace, to add an explanatory Supplement to his Decree, which he did without the Know-

Its Con-

tents.

ledge of the Florentine Plenipotentiaries. By this he declared that under the Name of Forts were comprehended the Gates of the City of Pifa, and of all those Towns that had Citadels; and that a certain Sum of Money should be allowed the Pilans out of the Revenues of their State for the Payment of the Garrisons, Governors, and Affessors: That the Ecclefiastical State, with those of Mantoua, Ferrara, and Bologna should be deemed not obnoxious: As to the Restitution of Moveables, what had passed on that Account should be buried in Oblivion: That the Pisans should themselves nominate a Judge Affessor from the Places not obnoxious; and that the Florentine Chief Justice should not pronounce Sentence on any criminal Case, tho' never so trivial, without the Affessor: That the Pisans were to be well used by the Florentines, and treated with that Distinction which is usually paid to Citizens of the other noble Towns in Italy; and that they should

295 A. D. 1499.

Taxes. Taxes and a limit be burthened with new

THOSE that procured this Explanation did not care whether it took Effect or not; it was purely intended to allay the Heats occasioned by the Clamours of the Pisan Ambassadors; and was drawn in fuch Terms, and confifted of fuch Limitations and Restrictions as the Authors thought most proper to justify themselves in the Council of the Pregadi, by making it appear, that if they had not obtained an entire Liberty for the Pifans, they had at least provided for their Safety and Wellbeing. When therefore the Decree with the Explanation came to be laid before the Pregadi, after several Debates, it was resolved that in consideration of the Condition of the present Times, the Difficulties that would attend a Continuation of the Defence of Pifa, and above all the formidable Power of the Turk, the abovefaid Decree and Explanation should stand unratified by any public Sanction; but, what is more to the Purpose in all Affairs, they took care to have

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296

A. D. it executed. For they ordered that all Hostilities should cease after Eight Days, and recalled all their Forces from Tuscany at the Time mentioned in the Decree, many among the Senators wishing Pisa in the Possession of the Florentines, rather than to see it fall into the Hands of Lodovico.

WHEN the Decree was brought to Florence, there appeared no less Agitation in the Minds of that People than had been at Venice: It was thought a mighty Grievance that the Florentines should be bound to make good any part of the Charges their Enemies had incurred for the Defence of Rebels, especially as all that was procured for them was no more than to be Sovereigns in Name, fince the Citadels and Fortifications were to be left in the Hands of the Pisans. The Administration of Justice in criminal Cases, which was a great Part of the Prerogative, and most necessary for the Preservation of a State, was decreed to be out of their Power, and intrusted in the Hands of Strangers. But after all their Murmurings

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and Complaints of those and other Grievances, they were at last obliged, by the
fame Threats which Lodovico had before
used to compel them to agree to an Arbitration, to submit, in hopes that in Yet ratify
process of Time, by good Policy, and
treating the Pisans with more Humanity,
they might restore their Authority and reestablish their Affairs, and so ratisfied the
Decree, but not the Explanation, which
had not yet reached them.

But the Fears, Frights, Perplexity, Pifans ex Indignation and Jealousy of the Pisans at asperated at the De this Decree were inexpressible. Enraged cree. at the Venetians, and fuspecting farther Treachery from them, they immediately turned their Forces out of their Forts and Gates, nor would they permit them to remain in their City. For many Days it was debated whether the Decree should be accepted or rejected. They were terrified at the Thoughts of their being abandoned, and left destitute, without any friendly Power to support them; but on the other hand their Hatred to the Florentines was invincible, and they despaired

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298

A. D. despaired of being forgiven the Injuries, Trouble and Expence they had occasioned them, and the Hazard to which they had exposed them of losing their own Liberty. In this Perplexity the Duke of Milan pressed them to submit, offering himself to become a Mediator for their obtaining more advantageous Terms. But the Pisans being willing to try whether that Duke retained the fame Ambition he formerly had of becoming Master of Pisa, and being disposed in that Case freely to come under his Dominion, fent Ambassadors to him to tender their Obedience; but it was to no Purpose. After great Perplexity they came at last to a Resolution to fuffer the last Extremity rather than return under the Florentine Yoke, to which they were fecretly encouraged by the Genoese, Lucchese, and Pandolso Petrucci. Lodovico was fo noted for his double Dealing, that the Florentines sufpected him, tho' he had now in reality relinquished all Designs upon Pifa; and indeed Sincerity is never expected from a Person who bears the Character of a Diffembler, and has been once known to circum-

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299

circumvent those he had to deal with. The Florentines then being deprived of all Hopes of recovering Pisa by Treaty, imagined that they had now a very fair Opportunity of reducing it to their Obedience by Force of Arms. For this End they sent Orders to Vitelli to return into the Pisan, and applied themselves to get in readiness all the Provisions that General required for that Enterprize.

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As to the Duke of Milan, the Situation of his Affairs seemed to decline every Day. All the Propenfity he had shewn to please the Venetians in the late Treaty did not in the least remove their Refentment; for they had refolved on his Ruin, as much out of a Spirit of Revenge as from a Prospect of Profit. Maximilian did not appear fo ready to enter into a War with France, as he was in demanding Money of the Duke; and, contrary to his Engagements, prolonged the Truce for the whole enfuing Month of August, leaving him to expect no more Advantage from his Succour than he had reaped from his late Diversion. entered

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. entered into the League of Suabia against the Swiss, who for several Reasons had been declared Enemies of the Em-This War was profecuted with lian enters pire. into the Swabian great Animofity and Bloodshed on both Sides; fo that Lodovico lost all Hopes of League. Affistance from that Quarter, at least till Maximilian should put an End to that War either by Treaty or Conquest. But as that Prince had given him Affurance that he would never make Peace with France or Switzerland without a Regard to his Security, he found himself under a Necessity of fending him Supplies of Money.

King of France prepares for his Italian Expedition.

300

THE King of France was wife enough to take his Measures from the present Juncture of Affairs, and relying on the Afsistance of the Pope and Venetians, he rejected the Advice of those of his Council, who on account of his late Inauguration, and the Scarcity of Money, would have persuaded him to defer his Ex-

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This War of Maximilian with the Saviss is described by Arrigo Mutio and Naucleto, and is called The Grand War, which cost the Lives of Thirty Thousand Men; but the Saviss suffered most.

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Year. Lewis flattered himself that the War could not last many Months, and consequently did not require vast Sums. The Preparations therefore were carried on with all Diligence, and Methods were found out to furnish the Swiss underhand with a Supply of Money, to enable them to keep Maximilian employed.

LODOVICO by this Time being Lodovico's convinced that this dreadful War was fernation. approaching, used all his Endeavours to procure the Affistance of some potent State in so imminent a Danger. He found it impossible to pacify the Venetians, and the King of Spain, tho' often follicited, unconcerned for his Preservation. order therefore to lose no Time while he waited the Success of a Negotiation with other Powers, he deputed Galeazzo Vifconti to Maximilian and the Swiss, to offer his Mediation for a Peace between them. He had received Information that the Pope had not fucceeded in procuring Charlotta for his Son: For that Princess, either influenced by paternal Love or Au-

THE HISTORY OF

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Expedition against Milan to the next A. D. Year. Lewis flattered himself that the War could not last many Months, and consequently did not require vast Sums. The Preparations therefore were carried on with all Diligence, and Methods were found out to furnish the Swiss underhand with a Supply of Money, to enable them to keep Maximilian employed.

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4. D.

Charlotta refuses Valentino.

the King of France, who affected to apbear zealous for the Match, obstinately refused to marry Valentino, but on condition that Federigo should at the same Time be established in his lawful Rights of Inheritance, for which that Prince offered to pay an annual Tribute, besides other Advantages to the Crown of France. Lodovico was not without Hopes that this mortifying Repulse might operate on Alexander, and detach him from the French Interest. He therefore thought fit to propose an Alliance with the Pope, in conjunction with Federigo and the Florentines, engaging that all the confederated Powers should affift his Holiness in reducing the Vicars in Romagna, and furnish him with a sufficient Sum of Money to purchase a Sovereignty for his Son. Alexander at first seemed to listen to these Propofals; but finding they were groundless, and that he had Reason to expect greater Advantages from the French King, during the turbulent and calamitous Seafon, which now feemed approaching, when Italy was to be overspread with foreign Armies,

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303 Armies, renounced all Thoughts of Char- A. D. lotta, and gave his Consent for the Nuptials of his Son with the Daughter of M. D' Albret, a Person of the Blood Royal, in Possession of a large Estate, and not inferior to any Nobleman in the Kingdom of France.

Lopovico, after trying all manner Lodovico of Ways to reconcile the Venetians, finding of the them implacable, thought it necessary, Turk; by means of proper Persons, and in concert with Federigo, to make Application privately to the Turk. Sforza was well fatisfied that if Bajazet, who was already making fuch vast Preparations, should turn his Arms against the Venetians, he could not have much to fear from their Alliance with France. He also offered the Florentines what Affistance they might think necessary for reducing Pifa, on condition they would engage to affift him and of the with Three Hundred Men at Arms and tines. Two Thousand Foot for the Preservation of his Dominions. On the other hand the French King demanded of the Florentines a Regiment of Five Hundred Men

THE HISTORY OF

Consideration he passed his royal Word that, after the Reduction of Milan, he of Lewis would assist them with One Thousand to the Florentines. Lances for a Year, and that he would conclude no Treaty with Lodovico till they were put in full Possession of Pisa and its Territory. He would moreover engage that the Pope and Venetians should both move to their Assistance, if they should happen to be invaded before the Dutchy of Milan was subdued.

Florentines in Suspense.

304

THESE different Proposals kept the Florentines in great Suspense, not only on account of the Difficulties that would attend a Resolution on either Side, but with regard to the different Parties in the Republic. As Lodovico demanded no Assistance till the War of Pisa was brought to a Period, his Succour was much surer, and more ready at hand, than what was offered by France, which indeed might be reckoned of no Consequence; for as the Pisans were unsupported, they expected to reduce them before the End of the Summer; and besides it seemed ungrateful

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305 A.D. 1499.

grateful to abandon Lodovico, whose prefent Danger was owing to his confederating with them against the Venetians, which provoked that Republic to enter into an Alliance with France. Not a few also were cautious of irritating the Duke of Milan, being sensible that he had it in his Power to lay several stumbling Blocks that might obstruct or retard their Enterprize upon Pisa.

On the other hand it came to be confidered, that Lodovico was utterly incapable of refifting the Power of France supported by the Venetians; for which Reason it might be dangerous to make an Enemy of a Prince, who very probably would, in a few Months, traverse all Italy with an irrefistible Army. Then as to the Affistance they had received from Lodovico, allowing it to have been the Caufe of his present perilous Situation, yet the Memory of his Benefits was eafily effaced by calling to Mind the many Injuries he had done them. For the very Rebellion of the Pisans was owing to his ambitious Defire of making himself Master of that VOL. II. State:

306 A. D.

1499.

State; and during the Revolt he had not only himself protected, but also excited other Powers to assist the Rebels. Upon the whole it was manifest that his Injuries much outweighed his Favours, and that those very Favours were bestowed not out of any good Will to them, but from a Spirit of Revenge on those Interlopers the Venetians, who had reaped the Fruits of his Labours, and snatched the Prey out of his Mouth. After much Deliberation, and duly weighing the Reasons that offered on both Sides, the Florentines at length concluded on a Neutrality, and in

Florentines refolve to fland neuter.

tion, and duly weighing the Reasons that offered on both Sides, the Florentines at length concluded on a Neutrality, and in the mean time to pursue their Scheme against Pisa, for which they imagined their own Force was sufficient. But as they were not without some Apprehensions from Lodovico, who might possibly give them some Trouble in their Undertaking, they thought best to play his own Tricks upon himself, and amuse him with fair Words. After they had thus held him some time in suspense, without returning

Politic some time in suspense, without returning Answer of a direct Answer, at last they ordered one the Florentines to of their Secretaries to acquaint him, that Lodovico. they found indeed that the Sentiments

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of the Republic and of his Highness were A. D. the same with regard to the End, and that they only differed as to the Means: That it was refolved, after the Reduction of Pifa, to fend him the Succours he had demanded; but that it was not fafe to enter into a Treaty, which was impracticable in a republican Government without entrusting the Affair in many Hands, and therefore could not be conducted with due Secrefy; and if it should take Air. the King of France might take Offence, and perhaps induce the Pope and Venetians to lend Affistance to the Pifans, which would render a Treaty prejudicial to themselves, and of no Service to him; for if they failed in their Enterprize against Pifa, they were not obliged, according to his own Propofals, nor indeed in a Condition, to lend him any Succours. But they affured him that he might depend on their Affistance whenever it lay in their Power to afford it, and rest satisfied with this Promise, which was given him with the Approbation of their leading Men, on whose Authority depended all the Deliberations of the Republic,

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A. D. and was therefore equivalent to figned Articles. They offered at the same time to come into his own Terms, if he could find any other Method that would fecure them from those Inconveniences which they had laid before him. This artful and evalive Answer, tho' coloured over with fuch specious Reasons, as might perhaps be satisfactory to a Person of ordinary Penetration, was yet too loofe and indefinitive to pass itself upon Lodovico, who easily saw through it, and concluded, from their Refusal to accept of his Assistance, that no Stress was to be laid on the Florentines.

THE Duke was now in the utmost in Diffres. Perplexity, finding himself disappointed in all his Expectations. He could have no firm Reliance on Maximilian, who was of an inconstant Temper, and befides at War with the Swifs; and he had but little Dependance on Federigo, who had promifed him Four Hundred Lances and One Thousand Foot under Prospero Colonna, and it was indeed his Interest to affift him; but he knew that Prince was but

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but flow in his Motions, and there was A.D. besides Reason to think that he had no Troops to spare. As for the Duke of Ferrara, his Father-in-law, to whom he did not forget to make his Applications, after being first reproached with his Treachery, by which the Duke was forced to give up the Polefine of Rovigo, he was told that it was by no means advisable, but very dangerous for the Duke to act against the Venetians, because his Dominions bordered on theirs, and they might at any time be at the Gates of Ferrara; it was his Interest therefore to maintain Peace with his Neighbours, and attend his domestic Affairs.

Lopovico now faw himself ne- Lodovico ceffitated to stand entirely upon his own fortifies Bottom, and therefore applied himself er Towns. with the utmost Diligence to fortify Anon, Novara, and Alessandria della Paglia, which were the first Towns the French would meet with in their March to Haly. He refolved to fend Galeazzo Sanseverino with the greatest Part of his Forces that Way to oppose the French, and to employ

310

A. D. the Remainder under the Marquis of Mantoua against the Venetians. But soon after, whether out of wrong Judgment or Avarice, or because the Decrees of Heaven are unalterable, he changed this wife Disposition. He had the Weakness to perfuade himself, that the Venetians would find their whole Strength infufficient to defend themselves against the mighty Power of the Turk, who had declared War against them both by Sea and Land, and would be in no Condition to give him any Disturbance. In Complaifance therefore to Galeazzo, who was difgusted at the superior Title of the Marquis of Mantoua, he was fo impolitic as to disoblige that General, by refusing to pay him fome old Arrears, and requiring fuch Oaths and Securities as a Man of Honour knew not how to difpense with. But he was foon made senfible of his Mistake, when he observed the Venetian Troops daily increasing in the Brefcian, in order to be in Readiness to commence the War in Concert with the French on their Arrival. He then thought himself obliged to make Application once

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more to the Duke of Ferrara, who was A. D. Father-in-Law to the Marquis of Mantoua as well as himself, for his Interest in order to accommodate Matters with the Marquis. But the Danger increased fafter than those Differences could be adjusted; for the Duke of Savoy had figned a Treaty with France, and French Troops passed every Day through Piedmont, hastening to their Rendevous in the Neighbourhood of Afti. Lodovico's Hopes in the mean time were daily diminishing; Federigo, either out of Indolence or Inability, had as yet fent him no Reinforcement; and Lewis, by his Vigilance and Refolution, had at once deprived him of all Expectations from the Florentines, who had promised the Duke to fend him, after the Reduction of Pila. Pagolo Vitelli, an Officer of high Reputation all over Italy. For as foon as the King was informed that the Florentines had fent a Secretary to Milan, he upbraided their Ambassadors in such high and threatening Terms, that the Republic thought it most advisable to fign a Treaty, by which they were engaged not

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THE HISTORY OF

312 A. D. to affift the Duke of Milan, without demanding any conditional Obligation on the King's Side. arbining as dirw

Force.

Lopovico, leaving a small Number of Troops under Count Gajazzo on the Venetian Confines, ordered Galeazzo, with Sixteen Hundred Lances, Fifteen Hundred Horse, and Ten Thousand Italian and Five Hundred German Foot, to pass the Po, with an Intent to keep himself on the Defensive, and avoid coming to Action. All he regarded was to gain Time, especially on account of the Peace that was mediating by his Agent Visconti between Maximilian and the Swis, which he expected every Day to hear concluded, and in consequence, according to Promise, the March of a powerful Army to his Affistance. And indeed this Peace was necessary for him, if for no other Reason than that it was impossible for him to raise more Soldiers nearer home, for fo great were the Preparations and Motions on all Sides, as to drain the Country of all the Men fit for Service.

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A. D.

No remarkable Accident happened before the Arrival of Lewis de Ligni, Number Edward d'Aubigni, and Gianjacopo Tri-of the French vulzio with the Forces defigned for the Army. Expedition. The King was on the Road to Lions, and gave out that he should pass the Alps if it were necessary; yet he did not intend it, imagining his Generals sufficiently qualified and provided to perform the Work without requiring his Presence-When the whole French Army paffed under Review, it was found to confift of Two Thousand Six Hundred Lances, Five Thousand Swis, Four Thousand Gascons. and Four Thousand other French. On the 13th of August the Army arrived before Arazzo, a Castle situated on the Banks of the Tanaro, and took it in a very short Time, tho' there were Five Hundred Men in Garrison, which was Arazzo owing to the brisk Fire of the Cannon, taken. and no less to the Cowardice of the Defendants. From Arazzo they continued their March to Anon, fituated on the high Road between Afti and Alessandria, on the Banks also of the Tanaro. The Place

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A. D. was strong by Nature, and had been newly fortified. Sanfeverine, who was encamped near Aleffandria, on Advice of the Loss of Arazzo, had deligned to reinforce the Carrifon of Anon, which confifted of Seven Hundred newly raifed Men, with some Companies of Veterans; but found it impracticable, because the French, to prevent all Succour, had obtained Leave from the Marquis of Monferrate to place Troops in Filizzano, a Town between Anon and Aleffandria. The raw Garrison of Anon made but a poor Defence, the French having taken Possession of the Suburbs. attacked the Town at Four Places, and carried it in Two Days, and afterwards the Castle, putting to the Sword all who had retired thither when the Town was taken.

Anon taken.

> SANSEVERINO, in great Con-Remation at the Rapidity of these Conquests, drew his Army within the Walls of Alessandria, alledging in Excuse of his Conduct, that he had no Dependence on his Foot, and that the Country was difaffected to the Duke of Milan. French

French emboldened by this Timidity, approached within Four Miles of Aleffandria, and at the fame Time made themselves Masters of Valenza, which was well provided with Men and Artillery, by the Treachery of the Governor Donate Raffagnino, a Milanese Gentleman, who was bribed by Trivulsio, and introduced the French through the Castle into the Town, where they killed and took the whole Garrison; among the Prisoners was Ottaviano, a bastard Brother of Sanseverino, It is remarkable that this fame Governor. Twenty Years before, had in the fame Manner betrayed Bona, and her Son Giovanni Galeazzo, by giving up to Lodovico a Gate of Tortona, on the same Day in the Year that he admitted the French into Valenza. The French now carried all before them like a Torrent, and took Bafignano, Vogbiera, Castelnuovo, and Ponte Corono without Resistance; and a few Days after the important Town and Citadel of Tortona, the Governor Antonmaria Pallavicino, with his Garrison, retiring over the Po without standing an Affault.

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316 4. D.

1499.

THIS rapid Progress of the Enemy terribly alarmed Lodovico Sforza, who feeing his Sovereignty, like a weatherbeaten Edifice, finking into Ruins, and, as it often happens in great and fudden Calamities, deprived at once of Prudence and Resolution, had recourse to those Expedients which are the common Refuge of Despair, but which serve only to discover the Greatness of the Danger, without administering any Comfort or Relief. He ordered a List to be taken of all the Men in the City of Milan, who were capable of bearing Arms, then fummoned a general Affembly of the Inhabitants, to whom he was become odious on account of the heavy Taxes, and in their Presence abolished several of those Duties that were most oppressive; after which, with a Countenance that betrayed much Anxiety, he thus addressed the People.

Lodovico's "If the good People of Milan, he Speech to faid, found themselves overcharged with of Milan. Taxes, he trusted that they would not ascribe it to his natural Disposition, or to

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a covetous Defire of accumulating Riches, A. D. but to the Condition of the Times, and 1499. the Dangers that furrounded Italy, first from the Ambition of the Venetians, and afterwards from the Passage of King Charles: That he was forced to levy Money, to preserve the Peace and Tranquillity of the Dutchy, and be prepared against those who would otherwise have invaded him. He therefore thought he could no way better merit of his People, than by averting a War, which is always attended by a Train of Calamities. That this Conduct had its defired Effect, as the Event plainly proved, fince, for fo long a Term of Years under his Government, they had enjoyed Peace and Quietness, which had enabled them to grow rich, and augment the Splendor and Magnificence of their City beyond all others; witness the stately Structures, the public Spectacles, the great Increase of Artificers and other Inhabitants, not only in Milan, but over the whole Dutchy, to the no small Envy and Amazement of all the other States of Italy. He defired them to reflect how he had not governed them

. D. them with Cruelty and Rigor, but with Humanity and Mildness: That he alone. among all the Princes of that Age, sparing no Pains to make his Subjects easy, had, on certain appointed Days, admitted promiseuously to his Presence all who desired it, and administred summary and impartial Justice. He put them in Mind of his Father's Merits, of his Beneficence and good Nature; how he had governed them more like Children than Subjects. He then laid before them the Haughtiness and Infolence of the French, who, were they once in Possession of the Dutchy, would doubtless behave, as they did in former times, when they were fettled in Lombardy, drive out the old Inhabitants. and replace them with People of their own Country. He therefore thought it his Duty to forewarn them, that out of Dread and Abhorrence of fuch barbarous and arbitrary Proceedings, they might all as one Man unite in the Defence of their Lives and Fortunes: That there could be no Doubt but that if they made a resolute Stand against the first Shock, which however sharp would be but short, their De-

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fence afterwards would become easier A.D. every Day: For it was the Nature of the French to attack with Fury, and spend their Spirits at the first Charge, but to remit of their Ardor, and be dismayed at a vigorous Repulse. That he expected yaft Succours from Germany that were ready to march under the King of the Romans, who had composed his Differences with the Swis; and that he had received Advice that Prospero Colonna was already on his March from Naples with a Body of Auxiliaries, and had Reason to believe that the Marquis of Mantoua, with whom he was reconciled, had by this time entered the Cremonese with Three Hundred Men at Arms. That if with all these Hopes and Encouragements the Refolution and Fidelity of his People would but heartily concur, he should be under no Apprehensions of his Enemies, not even tho' he were to encounter the whole Power of France." This Speech drew Attention, but had no other Effect on the I fined a toda and Affembly.

Lopovico was resolved to make his greatest

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a. D. greatest Efforts against the French, with1499. out giving himself much Concern about
the Venetians, who had already entered
bends his the Ghiaradadda, and taken Caravaggio
main
Strength and other Towns near the Adda. Puragainst the suant to this Resolution he remanded
French. Count Gajazzo with the best Part of his
Troops from the Frontiers on that Side
to Pavia, with Orders to join Galeazzo
for the Desence of Alexandria. But all

was visibly approaching from all Quarters:
For Gajazzo ungratefully forgetting the
Gajazzo's innumerable Favours bestowed on himself
Treache-

treated and come to an Agreement with the French, being piqued, it seems, at the Preserence of Galeazzo, his younger Brother, and a younger Soldier, in the Command of the Army, and at his being distinguished the first in the Distribution of Favours and Honours. It was reported that the Duke had some time before been apprised of the intended Treachery; and that, after a small Pause, he answered the Informer, with a Sigh, that he could not believe so much Ingratitude; but, if

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Precaution was now useless, and his Ruin

A. D. 1499.

it were true, he did not see how it could be prevented, nor knew in whom he could conside for the future, if his most intimate Friends, whom he had loaded with Benefits, could betray him; adding, that he could not but think it a greater Missfortune, and besides more dangerous, to deprive himself, on a vain Suspicion, of the Services of a faithful Servant, than, by an uncautious Credulity, to trust his Affairs in the Hands of such as were of dubious Fidelity.

COUNT GAJAZZO had ordered a Bridge to be laid over the Po, over which he was to pass and join his Brother. But as he never intended this Conjunction, he artfully retarded the finishing of this Bridge, and when it was finished still found fome Pretence for delaying his Passage. It was now Two Days fince the French had opened the Trenches before Alessandria, and their Batteries had fired very briskly. Galeazzo, who had Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, the same Number of light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot in Garrison, on the Third VOL. II. Day

Day of the Siege in the Evening, without communicating his Resolution to any Officer except Lucio Malvezzo, accompanied by a Party of Horse, deserted his Charge at Alexandria, and went off loaded with the Infamy due to so basea Treachery; and leaving to the World just Reason to reflect on the Weakness of Lodovico's Judgment in putting fuch a Man at the Head of his Forces. This infamous Example of Galeazzo is a clear Proof that there is a very great Difference between managing a fine Courser, and running at Tilts and Tournaments with heavy Lances (Exercises in which Galeazzo had no superior) and discharging the Office of a General. The same ought to be a Warning to all Sovereigns not to deceive themselves in their Choice of Ministers to be employed in Places of Trust, by preferring them on account of private Love and Affection, rather than of known Virtue and Merit.

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As foon as it was divulged that Galeazzo had taken his Flight, the whole City of Alessandria was in an Uproar, some fled,

fled, some hid themselves, and others A. D. wandered about in Consusion. The French 1499 took Advantage of this Disorder, and entered the Town by break of Day, strip-dria taken ping the Soldiers that came in their Way, and plunared then plundered the Houses.

SOME faid that Galeazzo had received Letters under the Hand and Seal of Ladovice, with Orders to abandon Aleffandria, and march with all his Troops directly to Milan, where the People began to be rumultous: Others affirmed that whatever was the Contents, they were forged by Count Gajazzo, to give the French an Opportunity of getting Possession of Aleffandria. Galeazzo used afterwards to thew these Letters in his own Vindication, by which it appeared, that he was commissioned to come away directly. and leave the Army to all Hazards, tho he might think it practicable to conduct it into a Place of Safety. Their Authenticity however is not fo unquestionable, as it is that if Galeazzo had acted the Part of an able and resolute General, he might, with the Forces he commanded, have easily defended Alessandria, as well as most of

THE HISTORY OF

the Places on that Side of the Po, and might even have reaped fome Advantage. For it happened that, one Day after Part of the French Army had passed the Bornia, there fell so heavy a Rain, that they were and plunfor a long time confined between the Bornia and the Tanaro without a Possibility of returning to their Camp. Yet, when fo fair an Opportunity offered, and tho' the General had Advice that a Party of his light Horse had sallied by the Bridge over the Tanaro, that joins the City to the Suburbs, and put to flight the first Squadron * of the Enemy, yet he wanted Courage to engage them.

Pavia fubmits.

THE Loss of Alessandria put the whole Dutchy in a Consternation, which was every Day increased by some new Missortune. For as soon as the French had passed the Po, and encamped at Mortara, Pavia declared for them. On the other Side, the Venetians, after taking Caravaggio, passed the Adda on a Bridge of Boats, and made Excursions as far as

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Body of Foot as well as of Horse.

Lodi. The whole Milanese was now in a Ferment, and the People every where tumultous; nor was the Confusion less in the Capital than in other Places. The whole City took up Arms, and very little Respect was shewn to the Sovereign. For his first Treasurer, Antonio Landriano, Landriano who had attended him to the Castle, was, murthered on his Return, affaffinated, in the open Streets, at Noonday; either out of some private Revenge, or by Orders of those who wanted a Revolution *. This audacious Fact made Lodovico very apprehenfive for his own Safety; wherefore mistrusting any other Means to secure himself, he resolved to leave the Castle well provided, and retire with his Family into Germany, both to avoid the present Danger, and to follicit Maximilian, who had made Peace with the Swifs, or was on the Point of doing it, for his Protection and Affistance.

X 3 M. Tochonil

* Landriano was affaffinated by Simone Rigone at the Head of Twelve Horsemen, who gave him Three Wounds, of which he died Two Days after. During his Illness Lodovico sent Cardinal Sanseverino and his own Brother to visit him. The Death of this great Man was the principal Cause of the Ruin of the Dutchy. Cario.

326 A. D. 1499

Lodovico fends away his Children.

In pursuance of this Resolution he immediately fent away his Children, * accompanied by the Cardinals Sansevering and Ascanio Sforza, which last had a few Days before arrived from Rome to affift his Brother with his Counsel. With the fame Company he also entrusted his Treasure, which was very much diminished of its usual Bulk; it being well known that Eight Years before, when the Duke, out of Ostentation, made a Show of it to the foreign Ministers, it was estimated, in Money, Gold and Silver Plate, not reckoning the costly Jewels, at a Million and Half of Ducats; whereas now it was thought not to exceed Two Hundred Thousand.

AFTER the Departure of his Children he constituted Bernardino da Corte of Pavia Governor of the Castle of Milan, contrary to the Advice of his Friends, and of his Brother Ascanio, who offered himself to undertake that Charge. But he thought

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^{*} He made the People believe that he fent his Children to meet Maximilian. Giovio.

thought none more faithful, or so proper for that important Trust, as a Person who had been his Pupil, and educated under his Tuition. He left in Garrison Three Thousand Foot under Officers of approved Fidelity, with Provisions of Victuals, Money, and military Stores, fufficient for feveral Months. For the Management of Affairs in Genoa the Duke depended on Agostino Adorno the Governor, and on Giovanni his Brother, who had espoused a Sanseverino, to whom he entrusted the Guard of the Castelletto. He made Restitution to the Boromei, a Family of Quality of Milan, of Anghiera and Arona, with other Lands on the Lago Maggiore, which he had formerly feized into his Possession; and, on Payment of Thirty Thousand Ducats, he made a Surrender of the Dutchy of Bari, and the Principality of Rossano, to his Nephew's Widow, Isabella of Arragon, as a Settlement for her Dowry; tho' that Lady had refused to entrust him with her little Son, whom he would have fent with his own Children into Germany. These Affairs being fettled, and his Reign at an End in the X 4

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. City, he continued in the Castle as long as he could with Safety, and on the 2d of September set out with weeping Eyes for Germany, in Company of Cardinal d'Este and Galeazzo Sanseverino, escorted by Lodovico flies into Lucio Malvezzo, with a strong Party of Germany. Infantry and Men at Arms *. He had no fooner fet Foot out of the Castle, than Count Gajazzo, to give fome Colour to his infamous Defertion, presented himself before him, and freely told him that fince he abandoned his Dominions, he thought himself released from his Service, and at Liberty to chuse his Master; and immediately after he displayed the King's

328

Gajazzo Commission, and went over to the French deserts to with his Troops, which he had raised the French and subsisted with Lodovico's Money.

Lopovico passed through Como, and left the Castle to the Guard of the Townsmen, from thence was rowed down to

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Thousand Men. Bembo writes that the Milanese gave him plain Notice that they intended to surrender themselves to the French if he abandoned them; and that, at his Departure, he heard the People cry aloud a Lewis, a Lewis.

to Bellagio, and landed near Bornio, his A. D. Way lying through all those Places, where not long before, in the Midst of his Glory, and at the Height of his Profperity, he had made fo magnificent an Appearance, when he entertained Maximilian, who at that Time had more the Appearance of an Officer in his own or the Venetian Service, than of a King of the Romans. He was purfued between Como and Bornio by the French, and by Count Gajazzo's Troops, but got fafe to Tiranno, where he left a Garrison, and Lodovico from thence to Inspruck, where he ex-inspruck. pected to meet Maximilian.

As foon as Lodovico was retired * the Milan re-Milanese sent Deputies to the French ceives the Army, which was advanced within Six Miles of their City, and agreed to receive them within their Walls without any Capitulation, which they chose to have fettled on the King's Arrival, from whom, confulting merely their own Interest, they expected to receive great Privileges and

^{*} Four Days after Lodowico's Departure the People of Milan cried out for the French, as we are told by Bembo.

a. D. City, he continued in the Castle as long 1499. as he could with Safety, and on the 2d of September set out with weeping Eyes for Germany, in Company of Cardinal d'Este

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Lodovico flies into Germany.

Germany, in Company of Cardinal d'Este and Galeazzo Sanseverino, escorted by Lucio Malvezzo, with a strong Party of Infantry and Men at Arms *. He had no sooner set Foot out of the Castle, than Count Gajazzo, to give some Colour to his infamous Desertion, presented himself before him, and freely told him that since he abandoned his Dominions, he thought himself released from his Service, and at Liberty to chuse his Master; and immediately after he displayed the King's Commission, and went over to the French

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329

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^{*} Four Days after Lodowico's Departure the People of Milan cried out for the French, as we are told by Bembo.

330 1499.

A. D. Exemptions. The Example of Milan was followed by the whole Dutchy. The City of Cremona, furrounded by the Vene4 tians, whose Government the People abhorred, would have furrendered also to the King; but Lewis being determined not to infringe the Articles of the Con-Submits to vention, that Place was obliged to submit the Vene- to the Venetians. Genoa shewed the same

tians.

Genoa

Propenfity to the French, the People, the Adorni, and Giovanni Luigi del Fiesco, fubmits to striving who should have the principal

Hand in delivering up their City to the King. And, to compleat Lodovico's Misfortunes, who in the Space of Twenty Days had loft fo noble and powerful a State, the ungrateful and perfidious Governor of the Castle of Milan, whom his

Master had selected as the most trusty Castle of Officer in his whole Army, on the 12th

tray'd into Day after the Duke's Departure gave up their a Castle deemed impregnable, without Hands. firing a Gun. As a Reward of so meri-

torious an Act of Treachery, he was gratified with the Command of One Hundred

Lances, and a Pension for Life, besides a

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331

very large Sum of Money, * with many A. D. other Privileges and Immunities. But foc perfidious a Breach of Trust was quite odious in the Eye of the World, and his Company was avoided even by the French Officers, as they would that of a wild Beast; so that meeting with nothing but Contempt and Reproaches wherever he went, he was at length overcome with Shame and Remorfe, the powerful and neverfailing Scourges of Villainy, and died in great Horror and Anguish of Several other Officers in the Spirit. Castle had a Share in the Guilt of this unworthy Governor, and amongst the rest Filippo del Fresco, another great Favourite of the Duke, who had bred him from a Child, and had left him in the Castle, as one in whom he could confide. But he, on the contrary, was fo bafeminded, and forgetful of his Duty and Obligations, that, instead of diffuading the Governor from his traitorous Intentions, he fuffered himself to be corrupted

by fine Promises, had a chief Hand in

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^{*} The Sum was Two Hundred and Fifty Pound of Gold. Bembo.

332 THE HISTORY OF

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Maria Pallavicini, the French Commissary, about the Surrendry of the Castle.

King of France arrives at Milan.

LEWIS was at Lions when he received the News of this rapid Conquest, which in point of Time had exceeded his Expectation. He had no more to do but to fet out with all Speed for Milan, where he was received with loud Acclamations, and immediately, to ingratiate himfelf, abolished several Duties. But as the common People are ever exorbitant in their Expectations, they were not contented, having perfuaded themselves that they were not to have a fingle Tax left. The King bestowed Lands on several noble Families of the Dutchy, and particularly on Gianjacopo Trivulzi, who, in reward of his good Services, had Vigevano affigned him, with many other Emoluments.

Proceedings of Pagolo Vitelli. WHILE the French were thus successful in Lombardy, Pagolo Vitelli assembled his whole Force in order to reduce Pisa. He begun with the Siege of Cascina, which

333 A. D. 1499.

which furrendered in Twenty-fix Hours, tho' it was well provided with Soldiers and all things necessary, and had a good Ditch and other Fortifications: But the foreign Troops observing that the Pisan Soldiers were disheartened at the Weakness of the Walls, and inclined to surrender, capitulated for themselves, leaving the others, with the Pisan Commissary, to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Tower erected for the Defence of the Mouth of the Arno was delivered up at the first Summons of a Trumpet, and the Fort on the Lake was abandoned: fo that the Pisans had now no other fortified Places. beside their City, left in their Territory except the Verrucola, and the Tower of Ascanio; and these it was not advisable to attack, because as they were contiguous to Pisa, they might be easily succoured; and also on account of their Situation on the other Side of the Arno, and not of Confequence enough to induce the Army to pass the River.

THUS the Pisans had now nothing Siege of left to defend but their City, which was Pisa.

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334

generally thought incapable of making any long Refistance. But Men of Penetration, who confidered the Strength of the Town, and the Number, Courage, and Desperation of the Desenders, were of a different Opinion. For the' the Number of foreign Troops was inconfiderable, being only those who, with Gurlino of Ravenna, had remained after the Venetians had recalled their Forces yet there was a vast Number of Inhabitants and Peafants, that with Five Year's Exper rience were become brave Soldiers, and were determined to fuffer the last Extremities rather than submit to the Florentines. The Town had no Ditch, but the Walls were very thick, built after the antient Manner, with Stone, and fo well cemented by the Goodness of the Mortar peculiar to that Country, as to refift the Artillery much better than ordinary Walls; and give Time for repairing the Breaches. However, by the Advice of Pagalo Vitelli and Rinuccio da Marciano, who gave Hopes and expected that the Town would be taken in a Fortnight, the Siege was undertaken.

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the last Resolution and out PAGOLO having got together Ten Thoufand Foot with a great Number of Horse, and being supplied with all the Necessaries he required, on the last Day of July opened the Trenches, but not on that Side of the Arno which would have prevented any Succours coming from Lucca, as several Officers advised, but on the other Side of the River against the Fort of Stampace, the taking of which, he thought, would much facilitate his Enterprise, both on account of Conveniency of Situation for the more easy and fafe Reception of Convoys of Provisions from the Hills, and also because he knew that the Pisans, not expecting an Attack on that Side, had neglected to make any new Fortifications, as they had done on the other. Having therefore erected a Battery of Twenty Cannon, he began to play on Stampace, and on a large Space of the Wall on each Side, reaching from St. Antonino in Stampace as far as the Sea Gate on the Bank of the Arno. On the other hand the Pisans worked Day and Night on the Breach, the Women affift-

Ditches.

A.D. ing and shewing no less Resolution than the Men, till they had raifed a high and thick Rampart, with a wide Ditch before it, without being difmayed at the Sight of those who were wounded, many of them mortally, by the Enemy's Artillery, either by their own Carelessness, or the Rebounding of the Balls while they were at Work. The Besiegers too suffered no less in their Camp by the Fire from the Place, for the Shot from Stampace came fo thick, that together with the Fire of the Cannon from the Walls, and especially from a Platform on the Tower of St. Mark, they were galled to fuch a Degree that they were obliged to throw up high Banks before them, or lodge in

THE Siege went on in this Manner for several Days, and tho' a large Breach had been made in the Wall of St. Antonio a Stampace, and that Fort was so shattered that the General imagined it might be carried without much Difficulty, yet the more to facilitate an Attack, and assure himself of the Success, he continued widening

widening the Breaches from Stampace to A. D. the Sea-gate, till at last all Communication with that Fort was cut off, and it stood quite without the Rampart, which had been erected by the Pisans at a good Distance from the Walls, which gave Room for frequent Skirmishes between the broken Wall and the Rampart, in one of which Count Rinuccio received a Musket Shot. What the General had in View was, after the Taking of Stampace, to plant a Battery there, and on the Ruins of the Wall, which taking in flank all that Part of it which was defended by the Befieged, he doubted not to be Master of the Place, especially since at the same Time he laboured at undermining a Part of the Wall between Stampace and the Rampart, which was already weakened with Pickaxes, and supported with wooden Props, in order to make it fall towards the Rampart, and by its Ruins to fill up the Ditch, which, when they gave the Affault, would much facilitate it, the Town Wall being very high in that Part.

On the other hand the Pisans, who Vol. II. Y were

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. were under the Direction of Gurlino, had made fome Casemates in the Ditch towards St. Antonio, to prevent the Enemy from filling it up, planted a good Number of Cannon towards that Place, and posted their Infantry before the Rampart, being resolved in case of Extremity to fight Hand to Hand, and dispute every Inch of Ground with the Enemy.

Stampace taken

338

On the 10th Day of the Siege, Vitelli, by Break of Day, gave the Assault to by Storm. Stampace, and tho' the Troops suffered greatly from the Artillery of the Old Citadel, he carried the Place much fooner and easier than he expected, to the great Amazement of the Pifans, who were so terrified that they abandoned their Ramparts in a Panic, and ran about the Town, and many of the Citizens, among whom was Piero Gambacorta, with his Troop of Forty Archers on Horseback, fled out of the Gates, and many more would have fled had not the Magistrates placed a Guard at the Gates. In short, the Consternation was so great, that if Pagolo had pushed on his good Fortune he might

undoubtedly have put an End to the War A. D. that very Morning, and made that the most glorious Day of his Life, which by his own fatal Remissness and Neglect proved the Beginning and Source of all his Calamities. He faid, indeed, in his Excuse, that he knew nothing of the Consternation of the Town, and that if he had known it he had formed no other Defign than that of taking Stampace that Day, and had made no Preparations for a general Affault. This feems to be the Reason why the Rampart was not attacked, where he would have met with no Refiftance, and why he remanded back to the Camp the greater Part of his Army, which on the Taking of Stampace had hurried thither in a tumultuous Manner. in hopes of entering the Town, and plundering it. The Pisans, on the News being spread that the Enemy stopt short, and did not profecute their Advantage, took heart afresh, and being further animated by the Cries and Lamentations of their Women, conjuring them to chuse Death rather than Slavery under the Florentines, returned to their Posts on the

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Ram-

the Defence of Pisa, observing that the Enemy had raised a Terras of Earth and Planks along the Way that leads from the Ravelin before Stampace to the Sea-gate, and fortified it towards the Field, but had neglected another Way to Stampace, he gave Orders for terrasing the same with all Speed in the same Manner, and for erecting a Platform, on which he planted a Battery, that took the Fort in Flank, and hindered all Access on that Side.

PAGOLO being in Possession of Stampace, raised a high Battery of Falconets and other small Pieces, that commanded the whole Town, but did no Damage to the Ramparts, which were however pretty much shattered by a Battery of large Cannon planted lower; but the Pisans would not abandon them, but continued resolute in their Defence; at the same time the Besiegers continued to batter the Casemate towards St. Antonio, and the Sea-gate, and to ruin their Outworks. The General laboured hard to fill up the Ditch with Fascines, in order to facilitate the Attack of the Ram-

341

part. On the other hand the Pisans, A. D. receiving a Supply of Three Hundred Foot from Lucca on the Night following, refumed fresh Courage, redoubled their Efforts, and threw Pots of Wildfire on the Enemy's Workmen. Having frustrated this Attempt, the main Point they now had in View was to force the Besiegers to abandon the Fort of Stampace. For this Purpose they mounted a very large Piece of Cannon called the Bufalo, and pointing it against the Fort, after a few Shot it dismounted the high Battery; and tho' Pagolo had directed fome Pieces of Cannon to play upon it, which did fome Damage to is Mouth, but it continued to fire, till in a few Days it had shattered the Fort to fuch a Degree, that Pagolo thought fit at last to remove his Cannon and abandon the Place. Nor had he better Success at the Wall he had weakened with Pickaxes, for the Pisans having countermined it on the Infide, in order to make it fall off from the Ditch, when, after removing the Props, he expected it to tumble down, it stood immovable.

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In spite of these Disadvantages Vitelli did not despair of carrying his Point at last, and making himself Master of the Place; for which End, indulging his natural Temper, he refolved to proceed flowly, tho' the more fecurely, in order to fave the Lives of his Men as much as possible. And therefore, tho' there were in many Places Breaches of above One Hundred Foot, he continued to enlarge his Batteries, to fill up the Ditches with Earth, and to repair the Fort of Stampace, in order to plant on it a new Battery, which might take in Flank the great Rampart which the Pisans had erected. In short he tried the utmost of his Skill and Art for obtaining a fair Opportunity of giving a general and regular Affault, with the furest Prospect of Success, and at the least Expence of Blood. But these dilatory Proceedings were no way fatisfactory to the Florentines, who were very uneafy at the least Delay, and continually teazed him with Letters and Meffages, urging him to be expeditious and haften the Attack, left fome Impediment, which might

343 might arise every Hour, should be thrown A. D. in his Way,

THIS Conduct of the General, tho' perhaps prudent, and agreeable to the Rules of military Discipline, proved thro' his ill Fortune to be the Cause of his De-The Territory of Pisa being struction. full of standing Pools and Marshes between the City and the Sea, is subject at this Season of the Year to pestilential Winds, and especially in that Part where the Florentines were encamped, and in the Space of Forty-eight Hours a violent Fever was propagated through the Army, fo that when Pagolo came to give the Affault on the 23d of August, he found fo great a Number of fick and enfeebled Persons, that he had not Men enough left to go upon it. The Florentines, and Sickness the General, who himself laboured under Camp. the common Disorder, endeavoured to remedy this Inconvenience by lifting new Men; but the Distemper raged so violent that the Diminution every Day much exceeded the Supplement. At last Pagolo giving over all Hopes of Success, and Y 4 appre344

apprehensive of being attacked himself, thought it necessary to raise the Siege; which was contrary to the Opinion of many of the Florentines, who were for placing a good Garrison in Stampace, and continuing in their fortified Camp near Pisa. But Vitelli would by no Means hearken to their Advice, for Stampace had been fo shattered and damaged by his own Cannon and that of the Besieged, that it was not tenable. He therefore on the 4th of September broke up his Camp, and abandoned the Place, directing his March along the Road that goes to the Sea; and as it was thought impracticable to convey the Artillery by Land to Cascina, because the Waters had spoiled the Roads, it was embarked at the Mouth of the Arno, in order to be tranfported to Livorno. But here the same

ill Fortune attended this as did all his

other Undertakings, for Part of the Cannon was funk, and a short time after re-

covered by the Pisans, who at the same time retook the Tower that guarded the

Mouth of the Arno.

Siege of Pisa raised.

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345 A. D. 1499.

THESE repeated Misfortunes augmented the ill Opinion which the Florentines had before conceived of Vitelli to fuch a Height, that a few Days after being fummoned by the Commissaries to Cascina, on Pretence of consulting about the Distribution of the Troops into their feveral Quarters, he was there arrested by Order of the superior Magistracy, and sent to Florence, where he was the same Night Pagolo arfeverely put to the Question, and the next rested, tor-Day beheaded. Vitellozzo his Brother beheaded. narrowly escaped the same Fate; for the Commissaries had the same Instant sent to apprehend him; but he, infirm as he was, of the Sickness contracted before Vitellozzo Pisa, feigning Obedience to their Orders, escapes to Pisa. got out of Bed, and while he was dreffing himself, some of his Domestics who got about him provided a Horse, which he mounted with their Affistance, and got fafe to Pisa, where he was received with open Arms. *

THE

^{*} Vitellozzo, while he was delaying to dress himself, that he might give Time for his Friends to come about him, faw some of his Lances among the Spectators, by whose Affistance he forced his Way, and got safe to Pifa. Buonacorfi.

THE HISTORY OF

346 A. D. 1499.

Articles against Vitelli.

THE principal Articles laid to Vitelli's Charge were, That it was owing to his Want of Will that Pifa was not taken, which might have been done the fame Day that the Fort of Stampace was taken: That for the same Reason he so long delayed to give the Affault: That he had received frequent Messages from Pifa without communicating the Subject to the Commissaries: That he had raised the Siege of Pisa, and abandoned Stampace, contrary to express Orders: That in order to have the Disposal of the public Money, he had put the Republic to unnecessary Charges, by employing several other Commanders in taking of Cascina, Vico Pisano, and the Artillery, which he might have done by himself without their Affistance: That whilst he was in the Casentino he held private Correspondence with the Medici, and at the same time negotiated and as good as concluded a Treaty with the Venetians, by which he was to enter into their Service at the Expiration of his Term of Agreement with the Florentines, which was near at hand; that did not take

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take effect because the Venetians, having concluded a Peace with the Florentines, had no occasion for his Service; but that, in confideration of this Agreement, he had granted a Pass to the Duke of Urbino and Giuliano de' Medici. These were the Crimes laid to his Charge, but he confessed nothing in particular, while he was under the Torture, that could affect his Life; his Execution was haftened for fear that the King of France, who was arrived at Milan, should demand him to be fet at Liberty. After his Death some of his Intimates, who had paffed under a longer Examination, confessed no more than that Pagolo thought he had many Reasons to be diffatisfied with the Florentines, as particularly their Partiality in favour of Count Rinuccio, the Difficulties they made in fending him the Supplies which he from time to time demanded, and the fcandalous Reports spread in Florence of his Conduct, to the great Injury of his Reputation. Upon the whole, tho' some may continue to think that he had not discharged his Office with just Fidelity, and that he aspired to the Sovereignty

THE HISTORY OF 348

of Pisa, or to make himself Master of A. D. 1499. fome Part of the Florentine Dominions, where he had great Friends and Interest, yet the major Part were of the more charitable Side, and of Opinion that he used his best Endeavours to take Pisa, which he was fenfible would have procured him immense Glory, it being the chief Concern of great Captains to embrace all Opportunities of acquiring Honour and Fame.

King of France addreffed of the Italian Potentates.

Milan, received the Addresses and Conby the rest gratulations of all the Potentates of Italy, except King Federigo, either in proper Person, or by their Ambassadors; some congratulating him on his Conquest, some vindicating themselves from the Charge of having favoured Lodovico, and others to fettle with his Majesty their future Operations. They were all graciously received, and the King entered into Engagements with each of them, but of a different kind according to the Diversity of their Circumstances, by which he might promise himself more or less Advantage from their

THE King of France being arrived at

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349

their Friendship. Among the rest the A. D. Marquis of Mantua was received into his 1499.

Protection, had the Command of One Hundred Lances given him, with a handfome Salary, and was honoured with the Order of St. Michael. * The Duke of Ferrara was also received under the royal Protection. Both these Princes waited on his Majesty in Person, but it was not without some Difficulty and Expence that the Duke got himself intitled to the royal Favour; for ever fince he had configned the Castelletto of Genoa into the Hands of Lodovico, he was regarded as a Person disaffected to the French Interest. Giovanni Bentivoglio deputed his Son Annibale to pay his Respects and crave the royal Protection, which was not granted without a Sum of Money. But the Florentines found it more difficult and expensive to compound Matters; all their past Services were forgot, and no regard paid to all they had fuffered for the French Caufe in the Times of the late King. The whole Court feemed to be fet against them,

and

^{*} The Marquis only accepted of the Order of St. Michael, refusing the military Place, and a yearly Pension of Twelve Thousand Livres. Mario Equicola.

A. D. and turned the deaf Ear to all they had to plead in justification of their Neutrality, to which, they faid, they had been neceffitated, that they might not make an Adversary of Lodovico in the Affair of Pifa. What passed in the memorable Transaction, when King Charles set the Pifans at Liberty, had made a deep Impression on the Minds of the French, and the Fame of their glorious Resistance begot an Esteem and Affection, and prepossessed the military Men in their Favour. The Authority also of Gianjacopo Trivulzio was of no small Prejudice to the Florentines at this Juncture, for that old Captain, aspiring to the Sovereignty of Pisa, favoured the Cause of the Pisans, who were disposed to accept of him or any one else that could defend them against the Floren-The Ambassadors also met with

bitter Reflections from the whole Court

on account of the Death of Pagolo Vitelli, and were told that their Masters had,

without any just Reason, cut off the Head of that valiant Captain, to whom the Crown of France lay under Obligations,

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for his Brother had been killed, and him-felf

351

felf taken Prisoner, while they were in A. D. the Service of King Charles in the Kingdom of Naples. But Lewis did not fo far indulge his Resentments, as not to let Reasons of State prevail over vain and popular Prejudices, and therefore Matters were compounded, and the Florentines also received under the royal Protection, * the King obliging himself to affist them with Six Hundred Lances and Four the League Thousand Foot, against all Invaders, and between the Florentines reciprocally engaging to and the Supply his Majesty with Four Hundred Floren-Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot for the Defence of his Dominions in Italy: Further, it was agreed that on the first Demand of the Florentines the King should furnish them with the aforesaid Number of Lances and a sufficient Quantity of Artillery for the Recovery of Pifa, and of those Lands and Territories taken from

^{*} Buonacorsi, in his Account of this Treaty or League, condemns the Dilatoriness of the Ftorentines, who might have obtained what Conditions they pleased of the King while he was in France; but after he came to Milan and saw himself a Conqueror, he naturally rose in his Demands, and they were forced to purchase this League with a round Sum of Money, and with little Benefit to the Commonwealth.

352

A. D. from them by the Senefe and Lucchefe, but not of those held by the Genoese: That if they did not demand of the King the Auxiliaries stipulated, before his Enterprize against Naples, he should be obliged when he undertook that Expedition to fend all or part of them against the Pisans; and they engaged, if Pisa at that Time should be recovered, and not otherwise, to join the Royal Army with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and advance Fifty Thousand Ducats towards the Maintenance of Five Thousand Swiss for Three Months, besides Repayment of Thirty-fix Thousand Ducats lent them by Lodovico, deducting from the faid Sum what Trivulzi shall declare to have been paid or expended on his account. Lastly, that they should elect for their Captain-General the Prefect of Rome, who was Brother to the Cardinal of St. Piero in Vincola, at whose Instance this Demand was made.

THE Pope, whose Ambition would not suffer him to lie dormant at so fair an Opportunity, now thought it a fit Time to insist on the performance of the Promises

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353

by which the King was engaged to affift A. D.

Duke Valentino against the Vicars of Romagna. The Duke, who had accompanied his Majesty out of France, in conse-King quence of this Request, was put at the Pope. Head of Three Hundred Lances under Ivo d' Allegri paid by the King, and Four Thousand Swiss commanded by the Bailist of Dijon, who were in the Pay of the Pope his Father.

THE Cities of Romagna, as well as State of other Territories of the Ecclefiastic State, the Cities of Romaga had undergone variety of Revolutions, and na. been for many Years under Governors, who were in a manner independent of the Roman Pontiff; some of these Governors, or Vicars as they were called, paid them no Tribute in acknowledgment of their Superiority, others with Difficulty, and when they pleased. But all in general thought themselves at liberty to enter into the Service of other Princes, without asking leave of the Pope, or so much as excepting themselves from bearing Arms against the holy See; but on the contrary were obliged to defend those Princes VOL. II. against

against the pontifical Arms and Authority. A. D. The Service of these Vicars was very much coveted, for, befides their Power and Strength, which was confiderable, their Country lay very convenient for diftreffing the Pope, and checking the Growth of the ecclefiastical Power and Influence. Atthistime the Cities of Ravenna and Cervia were in the Hands of the Venetians, who had many Years before wrested them from the Polenta Family, who private Citizens had made themselves Tyrants * of their Country, and were afterwards acknowledged as Vicars of the holy See. Faenza, Furli, Imola, and Rimini, had each their particular Vicars; Cesena, which had long been in Subjection to the Family of the Malatesti, had lately, fince the Death of Domenico Malatesta, returned under the Obedience of the Church. But the Pope pretending that these Cities were, for many Reasons, devolved to the holy See, was refolved to reduce them to their antient Subjection, tho' in reality he defigned them for his Son Cafar, and had

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^{*} The Italians gave the Name of Tyrants to them and their Descendants who obtained the Sovereignty of a City by Force.

355

with this View stipulated with the French A. D. King that, after the Conquest of Milan, he should lend him his Affistance for recovering those Cities which were in the Hands of the Vicars, amongst which was Pefaro then in possession of Giovanni Sforza, formerly Son-in-law to his Holiness. But the present Grandeur of the Venetians deterred him from entertaining any thoughts of afferting his Claims to the Cities in their Possession, nor did he think it convenient at that time to mention his Title to fome little Places on the Po, that were in the Possession of the Duke of Ferrara. But Valentino, at the Head of the aforesaid French Troops, and those of the ecclesiaftical State, marched into Romagna, and immediately made himself Master of Imola, which City furrendered to him the latter End of December, 1499 +.

THIS Year, so fruitful of Events, and Turkift remarkable Revolutions in Italy, will be Incursion: also memorable for an Irruption of the Turks into the Venetian Borders. For Bajazet, the Ottoman Emperor, having with 7, 2 a pow-

of On the 29th of December. Buenacorfi.

356

A. D.

a powerful Fleet, laid Siege by Sea to the Venetian maritime Towns in Greece, detached Six Thousand Horse to ravage the Province of Friuli. The Turks finding the Country unguarded, as expecting no fuch Visit, plundered and burnt all that came in their Way as far as Liquentia, and returning with an infinite number of Prisoners as far as the Banks of the River Tigliavente, for the better Speed selecting as many as they could conveniently carry with them, most cruelly massacred all the rest. Nor were the Venetian Affairs well managed in Greece, for Antonio Grimano, the Captain General of the Venetian Fleet in those Parts, was accused of neglecting an Opportunity of destroying the Turkish Fleet when it came out of Port Sapientia, and again at the Mouth of the Gulph of Lepanto. The Senate after appointing him a Succeffor, fent him a Summons to appear at Venice, and committed his Cause to the Cognizance of the Council of the Pregadi, who had it under Examination many Months, his Authority and Greatness bearing him up, and pleading strongly for him against a Multitude of Arguments

Venetian Admiral faulty,

Tried.

and Witnesses produced by his Accusers. A. D. At last it appearing that the Authority of the Accused, and the Multitude of his Relations pleaded hard for his Acquittal, or because the Council of Pregadi, in whirh were many Persons of great Prudence, had no Regard to common Report or ill grounded Calumnies, but apply'd themselves seriously to find out the Truth, the Cause was by the Magistracy of Advocates of the Community referred to the Cognizance of the Grand Council, where, either his Friends having no Sway, or that greater Deference was paid to the Prejudices of the clamorous Multitude, than to the Dictates of fenatorial Gravity, his Fate was at length determined, tho' not And fentill the End of the enfuing Year, when he tenced. was condemned to perpetual Banishment in the Isle of Offaro.

W E are now entring on the Year 1500 1500 as fruitful of Events as the former, and also memorable for the plenary Remission of the Jubilee, first instituted by the Popes to be celebrated, according to the Example of the Old Testament, every hun-Z 3

dredth Year, not with Pomp and Paftimes, as was the Manner of the old Romans in their fecular Games, but for the Salvation of Souls. For at this Time, according to the pious Belief of the christian People, there is granted a full Remission of all Sins, to fuch as confess them with fincere Repentance, and visit the Churches dedicated to the Princes of the Apostles at Rome. This Jubilee has fince been ordered to be celebrated every fiftieth Year, and at last reduced to the Twenty Fifth, tho' out of Respect to the Memory of its first Institution, the hundredth Year is celebrated by a much greater Concourse of People.

In the beginning of this Year Valentina took possession of the City of Furli without Opposition. The Lady Governess of the Place sending away her Children and her richest Effects to Florence, and abandoning the rest which she was not able to preserve, was reduced to make the best of her Desence in the Cittadel and Castle, which were well provided with Men and Artillery. She betook herself to the Cittadel.

1500.

del, and being a Woman * of a brave and A. D. manly Spirit, she made a Refistance which redounded very much to her Honour. Va-Manly lentino having tried in vain to induce her Behaviour to furrender, raised a great Battery against of a Lady. the Cittadel, which beat down a good Part of the Wall, that drew after it much of the Rampart, and filled up the Ditch fo far as to make the Breach eafy to be mounted. But the Besieged were fo much terrified, that they abandoned the Defence, and endeavoured to retire into the Castle. The Lady used her utmost Effort to stop the Retreat, and animate her Men, but was born down by the Crowd, and the Enemy breaking in upon them, under the present Hurry and Confusion, cut most of them to pieces before the Gate, and entering pell mell among the rest into the Castle put all to the Sword, except a few of the Chief, who with the Lady retired into a Tower, and were Z 4 made

^{*} This Heroine was Madam Caterina Sforza Riaria, Wife of Girolamo Riario, and afterwards of Giovanni de' Medici. Some write that when Valentino threatened, if she did not surrender the Cittadel, to kill her Children. she took up her Coats, and shewing her Nakedness, said, "Here, Duke, see the same Mould for casting more!"

360 A. D.

made Prisoners. Valentino considering her Valour more than her Sex, sent her Prisoner to Rome, where she was kept in the Castle of St. Angelo, till at the Intercession of Ivo d'Allegri, she was set at Liberty.

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VALENTINO, having made himfelf Master of Imola and Furli, proceeded with an Intent to make further Conquests, but was flopt in his Career by new and unfore-For the King of France, feen Accidents. after giving what Orders he thought proper for the Administration of his new Acquifition, leaving fufficient Garrisons in the Milanese, and prolonging the Truce with the King of the Romans till the May enfuing, including in it the Dutchy of Milan, and all that the French possessed in Italy, returned into France. He took with him the little Son of Giovan Galeazzo, whom his Mother imprudently committed to his Care, and whom he afterwards placed in a Monastery, and left the Government of Milan to Gianjacopo Trivulzi, in whom he reposed an entire Confidence, both on account of his Valour, and other Merits, as well as for his Enmity to Lodovico Sforza.

A. D.

Bur the King could not leave behind him a faithful Disposition in the Minds of Milanele his new Subjects, many of whom were uneasy disgusted at the Manners and Customs of French the French, others found themselves dif-Governappointed in their Expectations of the royal Bounty, and of an Exemption from all Taxes whatever, as the unthinking Populace had fondly perfuaded them-Multitudes were highly diffatisfelves. fied at the Promotion of Trivulzi, the Head of the Faction of the Guelfs, to the Government of Milan, where the Ghibelline Faction was very powerful both in the Capital and all over the Dutchy. And this ill Disposition was exasperated by the bad Management of the Governor, who was of a factious, proud and reftless Temper, and favoured and countenanced with the Authority of the chief Magistrate, much more than was convenient, those of his own Party. Besides he was abhorred by the Populace for killing with his own Hand in the public Shambles fome Butchers, who had the Impudence, in common with other forts of Vulgar, to refuse Payment

362

4. D. Payment of the Duties from which they were not exempted, and were fo rash as to oppose with Force of Arms the Entrance of the Officers appointed to collect them. On account of these Grievances the major Part of the Nobility, and the whole Body of the common People, who are by Nature greedy of Novelties, longed after Lodovico's Return, talked of the same in public, and founded his Name aloud in the open Streets.

> In the mean time the Duke of Milan, and his Brother the Cardinal had waited on Cafar, and met with a gracious and honourable Reception. That Prince shewed much Concern for their Misfortunes, commiserated their afflicted Condition, and made them repeated Promifes of his marching in Person at the Head of a powerful Army for the Recovery of their Estate, fince he had now put an effectual End to his War with the Swifs. But fuch was his known Fickleness of Temper, and his Manner of confounding his ill concerted Projects one with another, that their Hopes diminished daily; and as he was labouring under

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under his usual Necessities, without any A. D. Regard to their present Distress, he was 1500. continually borrowing Money of them. The Duke then and the Cardinal, being weary of flattering themselves with vain Hopes, and being encouraged by the continual Sollicitations of Numbers of People Lodovico of Quality in Milan, refolved to undertake recalled. the Work by themselves, with the Help of Eight Hundred Swifs, and Five Hundred Men at Arms of Burgundy which they had inlifted. Trivulzi, well informed of their Motions, was alarmed, and immediately dispatched an Express to Venice to follicit the speedy March of the Venetian Troops to the River Adda, and another to Ivo d'Allegri, with Letters, importing that it was necessary for him to withdraw from Valentino with the French Men at Arms and Swiss under his Command, and march with all Speed for Milan; and that the Enemy might meet with Resistance at their first Attempt, he ordered part of the Army to Como, his Jealoufy of the Inhabitants of Milan not suffering him to send his whole Force.

under his ufual Mocerninessow

364 A. D. 1500.

Bur the Diligence of the two Brothers defeated all his Measures; for without waiting till all their Troops were affembled, they fet out with fuch as were ready, leaving Orders for the rest to follow Party after Party, and after passing the Mountains with incredible Speed they embarked on the Lake of Como, and appearing off that City, the French, who knew the Difposition of the Comese, forsook the Place, and the Sforzas were immediately received. The News of the Loss of Como raised such Commotions in the People of Milan, and in almost all the Heads of the Ghibelline Faction, that Tumults foon followed, which Trivulzi finding himfelf too weak to suppress, had no Way left but to retire the French. with all Speed into the Castle, and the Night following, together with fome Men at Arms, who had retired into the Barco, adjoining to the Castle, he took his

Way towards Novara, perfecuted by a tu-

multuous Mob with Infults and Execra-

tions as far as the River Tefino. He left

Four Hundred Lances at Novara, and

Milan quitted by

Lodovico recovers

Como.

threw himseif with the rest into Mortara, where p

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365

where he and the rest of the Officers A. D. employed their Thoughts more on the Manner of recovering the Dutchy of Milan, when Succours should arrive from France, than on preserving it with their present Force.

THE French having thus quitted Milan, first the Cardinal, and afterwards Lodovico himself made their Entrance into that Lodovico Capital, and took full Possession of all, the City except the Castle, with as much Ease as it of Milan. had been loft, the People expressing more Joy and Pleasure at his Return than they had done at his Departure. Pavia and Pavia Parma declared for him without Delay, and Parand Lodi and Piacenza would have follow-claims ed their Example, had not the Venetians, Lodowico. who were advanced to the Adda, hastily entered those Places. Alessandria, and almost all the Towns beyond the Po, as they were farther distant from Milan, and nearer Afti, a City which belonged to the King, remained in Peace, and attentive to the further Progress of Affairs, by which they might take their Measures with more Safety and Advantage.

Lopovico

A. D. 1500.

Lopovico having recovered Milan. applied himfelf with all Speed to the Levying of a good Body of Italian Foot, and as many Men at Arms as he could procure; and ceafed not folliciting by Intreaties, Offers, and all manner of Hopes, every one whom he thought of Ability, or inclined to affift him in his preffing Neceffity. He deputed Cardinal Sanseverino to Cæsar, to notify his prosperous Beginning, and intreat a Supply of Men and Artillery. And as he would by no Means have the Venetian Senate his Eneunsuccess- mies, he gave Orders for Cardinal Ascanio to dispatch without Delay the Bishop of tians, Flo- Cremona to Venice, to make an Offer of Reconciliation, which he was heartily willing to procure upon whatever Terms they should please to prescribe. the Bishop found the Senate inflexible, for they were determined not to depart from their Confederacy with France. The Genoese, tho' earnestly sollicited, refused to return under his Dominion; nor would the Florentines comply with his Demand of repaying him what they had borrowed. Only

Lodovico ful with the Venerentines,

and

Genoese.

1500.

Only the Marquis of Mantua fent his A.D. Brother with some Men at Arms to his Affistance; and these were accompanied by the Lords of Mirandola, Carpi, and Correggio. The Senese remitted him a fmall Sum of Money; but these were but scanty Supplies to a Man in his Condition; as were also those of Filippo Rosso, and the Vermineschi. The Fathers of these Noblemen had been deprived of their Dominion by Lodovico, the Rossi in particular of San Secondo, Torchiara, and many other Seats in the Parmesan; and the Vermineschi of the City of Bobbio, and other circumjacent Places in the Mountains of Piacenza. But now Filippo left the Venetian Service without Leave, in order to recover his Patrimony, which he effected, and then joined Lodovico with his Troops; the same Means were used by the Vermineschi to regain what belonged to them, both Parties laying hold of this Occasion to work themselves into the Duke's Favour.

Lodovico having affembled Fifteen Hundred Men at Arms besides the Burgundian 368

A. D. gundian Horse, his Infantry consisting of the Swiss, and a numerous Body of Italian Foot, left his Brother Ascanio at the Siege

Novara besieged by Lodovice.

of the Castle of Milan, and passing the Tefino, took Possession of the Town and Fortress of Vigevano by Composition, and fat down before Novara. He chose to besiege this Place rather than Mortara, either because the French had strongly fortified themselves in Mortara, or because he imagined that the Conquest of that famous and plentiful City would greatly increase his Reputation, and shorten the War; and by taking Novara the French in Mortara might probably be so distressed for want of Victuals, as to be forced to abandon the Place; or perhaps his Defign was also to intercept the Passage of Ivo d' Allegri, who was returning from Romagna to Novara. That General was on his March with Duke Valentino, in order to besiege Pesaro, but on receiving Orders from Trivulzio, he fuddenly departed with all the Horse and the Swiss, and in his March near Parma hearing of the Rebellion of Milan, he redoubled his Speed, and making an Agreement with the Parmesans

Parmesans and the Piacentines that he would do them no Damage, provided they would grant him free Passage, he made the best of his Way to Tortona. Arriving near that City he was addressed by the Guelfs, who thirsting after Revenge against the Ghibellins, represented to him how after that Party had returned under the Obedience of Lodovico, they were infulted and turned out of their Houses by them; but the French entering the Town plundered all whether Friend or Foe without Distinction, the Guelfs in vain lamenting and exclaiming that the King's most faithful Servants were treated no better than perfidious Enemies. From Tortona Ivo continued his March to Aleffandria, where he was obliged to stay, because the Swis, either for want of Pay, or out of Treachery, deferted to the Duke of Milan. The Duke now finding himself stronger than his Enemies pushed on the Siege of Novara, in hopes of taking the Place before the French, who expected Succours from their King, could be in a Condition to relieve it. His Endeavours took Effect, for the French Garrison, VOL. II. Aa despair-

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. despairing of Relief, surrendered the Town upon Articles, by which they were allowed to march out of the Place with furrender-all their Effects, and be fafely conducted Lodovico. to Vercelli. The Capitulation was punctually observed by Lodovico, tho' some would have perfuaded him to break it, and put the Garrison to the Sword, as the surest Means to disable his Enemy, and not unwarranted by the Example of great Men, who have violated their Faith, for the Sake of acquiring a State; how much more lawful then must it be to break ones Faith for preferving it. The City of Novara being reduced, Lodovico laid Siege to the Citadel; but it was thought that if he had marched towards Mortara, where was a Misunderstanding between Ligni and Trivulzio, the French would have retired on the other Side of the Po.

The French King makes Preparations to recover Milan.

370

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Bur while Lodovico was thus active and diligent in improving his good Fortune, the King was no less eager and follicitous to repair his Losses. As soon as he had received Advice of the Rebellion of Milan, burning with Shame and Indigna-

tion,

tion, he immediately dispatched Tremouille A. D. with Six Hundred Lances for Italy, gave Orders for raising a great Body of Swifs, and for the greater Expedition in providing all things necessary, he appointed the Cardinal of Rouen his Intendant-General on this Side the Mountains, and ordered him to fet out immediately for Afti. The Preparations were fo haftened, that by the Beginning of April the King had in Italy an Army of Fifteen Hundred Lances, Ten Thousand Swifs, and Six Thousand French under the Command of La Tremouille, Trivulzi, and Ligni. All these Troops affembled together at Mortara, and thence marched towards Novara, depending as much on Treachery as open Force; for the chief Officers of the Swiss that were in Lodovico's Army, tho' they had behaved both bravely and faithfully in the Siege of Novara, entered now into a private Combination with the chief Officers of their Countrymen that were in the French Army, which Lodovico beginning to fufpect, gave Orders for the March of Four Hundred Horse and Eight Thousand Foot from Milan to reinforce his Army. The

Aa 2

Swis

A. D. Swifs that were in Novara now began to be tumultuous at the Instigation of their Officers, and took Occasion to murmur because they were disappointed of their Pay on the Day it was promised. But the Duke immediately flying to the Place where the Tumult was, used such kind and fair Speeches, intermixed with Prayers and Intreaties, as really moved Compassion; and by making them a Prefent of all his Plate, prevailed on them to wait till the Money arrived from Milan. But the Swiss Officers being apprehensive that if the Duke's Army should be reinforced by the Troops from Milan, the Execution of their treacherous Defigns might be prevented, took care that the French Army should present itself in order of Battle before the Walls of Novara, furrounding a great Part of it, while they posted a Body of Horse between that City and the River Tesino, to prevent the Duke or any other from escaping to Milan. The Duke finding every Hour more and more Reason to think himself betrayed, refolved to march with his Army out of Novara, and give the Enemy Battle, having

having already ordered out his light Horse, A. D. and the Burgundians to begin the Fight. 1500. But his Measures were flatly contradicted and opposed by the Swiss Commanders, who protested that it was not lawful for them to fight against their own Brothers, near Relations, and Countrymen, without Leave first obtained from their Superiors. * Lodovico And foon after intermixing with the other betrayed Swiss, as if they made but one Army, they Swiss. declared their Resolution to set out immediately for their own Country. Nor could Lodovico, with all his Prayers, Tears, and infinite fair Promises, divert them from this barbarous Treachery, tho' he befought them, in the most supplicant Manner, that they would, at least, conduct him into a Place of Safety. But these obdurate Wretches having before agreed with the French Generals to march

* Some would excuse the Swiss in this Affair, alledging that they are prohibited by their Law, under the severest Penalties, to appear in Arms against the public Standard of the League; and because the Swiss in Lodowico's Army had been privately listed, but those in the French Service under the public Banner of the League, consequently the former were not at Liberty to act against their Countrymen on the other Side without rebelling against their Laws.

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A. D. off, and leave him behind, his Request was not granted. All he could obtain was, to dress himself like a Swiss private Centinel, and to take his Chance. if he was not known, to escape. This Propofal he accepted as his only Refuge in this utmost Distress; but, alas! it proved infufficient for his Security. For as the Swiss were marching in military Order through the French Army, he was, by the Vigilance of those who were appointed to watch, or by the Indication of the Swifs themselves, discovered as he was marching a-foot in the midst of a Battalion, clothed and armed like a Swifs, and immediately made a Prisoner; a miserable Spectacle! which drew Tears even from the Eyes of many that were his Enemies. With him were taken Galeazzo da San Severino, Fracassa, and Antonmaria, his Brothers, difguifed in the same Manner among the Swifs. The Italian Soldiers were all feized and stript, either in Novara, or in their Flight towards the Tesino. the Burgundian Horse, and the German Foot were civilly dismissed, the French not thinking fit to affront those Nations.

THE

375

THE Duke being taken, his Army A. D. dispersed, all Obstacles removed, and every Place full of Flight and Terror, Cardinal Ascanio, who had already forwarded the March of the Troops that were affembled at Milan, being terrefied at fo fad a Catastrophe, suddenly departed from Milan, in order to retire to some Place of Safety, accompanied by many of the Ghibelline Nobles, who having shewn an immoderate Zeal for Lodovico, despaired of obtaining Pardon from the French. But it was ordained that Treachery and ill Fortune should both equally conspire against the two Brothers. The Cardinal fatigued with a hasty and troublesome Day's Journey, rested the next Night at Rivolta in the Piacentine, a Castle that belongs to Currado Lando, a Gentleman of Piacenza, his Relation and intimate Friend. But Currado, changing his Mind with the change of Fortune, fent immediate Notice of his Guest to Carlo Orsino and Sonzino Benzone, two Venetian Officers at Pia-Cardinal cenza, and upon their Arrival with a Guard betrayed. delivered him into their Hands. Hermes Sforza, Brother to the late Duke

A 4

Giovan

D. A. Giovan Galeazzo, and fome other Ghibel-1 500.

line Gentlemen that accompanied the Cardinal, who had more wifely confulted their Safety than to take up their Lodging with him in the Castle, were passed forwards. Ascanio was immediately conducted a Prisoner to Venice; but the King confidering how much it would conduce to the Security of the Dutchy of Milan to have him in his own Custody, peremptorily demanded him of the Senate, and upon their Demurring, proceeded to Protests and Menaces, claiming him as his Prisoner because he was taken in a Country fubject to his Dominion. This Demand, tho' very harsh and grating, and highly injurious to the Honour of the Venetian Delivered Name, yet to avoid the Fury of the French Army, the Senate thought best to comply with, and delivered him up together

to the French. with all the rest of the Milanese that had been taken with him. And as a greater Instance of their Obsequiousness, Battista Visconte and some others of the Nobles, who had fled from Milan on the fame Account, and taken Refuge in the Ghiaradadda, and had obtained a Protection

for their Security, in which it was expressy mentioned that they should not be
delivered up to the French, were notwithstanding from, the same Motives of servile
Awe and Dread, delivered into the King's
Power. Of so much Insluence was the
Terror of the French Arms at that Time
on the Venetian Senate, as to set aside all
Regard to the Dignity of the Republic.

THE City of Milan, destitute of all Hopes, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Cardinal of Rouen humbly to implore Pardon. The Cardinal received them very graciously, and granted them a Pardon for their Rebellion in the King's Name, but on Condition of paying Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, the greatest Part of which the King afterwards was pleased to remit. Ater the same Manner did the Cardinal pass an Indemnity for the other Cities that had rebelled, sining every one of them according to their respective Rank and Abilities*.

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^{*} Pavia was fined One Hundred Thousand Ducats, Parma Sixty Thousand. Buonacorsi.

378 A. D.

1500. THE War being thus happily ended. the Troops were disbanded; but the Swis of the four Cantons nearest to the Town Bellinzone of Bellinzone, fituated among the Moun-Surprised. tains, in their Return home, unexpectedly took Possession of that Place. The King at first might have had it restored for a moderate Sum, but indulging his penurious Temper, to fave a little Money, he lost Opportunities that were of great Moment to his Affairs. For fuch Times and Accidents happened afterwards, as made him oftentimes defirous to purchase that Town at any Rate, it being a Pass of the greatest Importance for preventing the Defcent of the Swifs into the Milanefe.

> Lopovico Sforza was conducted to Lions, where the King was at that Time, and made his Entry into that City at Noonday amidst an infinite Number of Spectators, who flocked from all Parts to behold a Prince so lately at the Height of Grandeur and Majesty, and the Envy of the World for Happiness, now fallen into the most abject State of Misery, and not

able

able to obtain the Favour, tho' he earnestly A. D. desired it, of being admitted into the King's Presence. After two Days he was committed to the Tower of Loches, where Lodovico he spent the Remainder of his Life, which Remaindwas about ten Years, in a narrow Prison, er of his which afforded Room enough to hold the Prison. Man whose Thoughts and Ambition all Italy was scarce sufficient to circumscribe.

LODOVICO SFORZA was, without His Cha-Question, a Prince of extraordinary Wit racter. and Eloquence, and of many other natural Endowments, and might well deserve the Appellation of gentle and merciful, had not the Infamy of his Nephew's Death fullied that Part of his Character. But on the other Hand it must be confessed that he was naturally vain, restless, ever full of ambitious Projects, made light of his Promises, or a Breach of Faith, and was fo conceited of his Wifdom, that he could by no means endure to hear another commended for extraordinary Prudence and Sagacity, perfuading himfelf that by his own Art and Industry he could dive into the Thoughts, and pene-

trate

380 THE HISTORY OF

A. D. trate the Defigns of the most able Politicians, and bend them to his own Pur-King's Prefence, Alier two Days he.saloq

Ascanio

Cardnal His Confinement was followed not confined. long after by that of Cardinal Ascanio, his Brother, who was received with greater Civility and Respect, and had the Favour to be visited by the Cardinal of Rouen. He had also a more honourable Prison, for he was committed to the Tower of Bourges, where the King who now imprisoned him had formerly lain himself two Years confined. So mutable and wretched is the Condition of Mortals, and fo blind are we to future Events, and the Approaches of Fate!

committed to the Tov et of Locher who



dence and Sagacity, perioading

The End of the Fourth BOOK, and Second VOLUME.

that by his own Are and Industry he

could dive into the I neschus, and pene-

EXPLANATION of NAMES.

Pagolo Caterina

Ridolfo

Cæfare Antonio

Alexfandria ?

Alessandria S Gian

Gian Nicoló

Michele

Bartolomeo

Anton Maria

Gianjacopo

Paul

Katherine

Rodulphus

Cæfar

Anthony

The fame

John

Nicholas

Michael

Bartholomew

Anthony Mary

John James

ERRATA:

Page 4. f. they had afterwards, r. they afterwards. p. 9. f. concurrence into, r. with. p. 12. f. Murone, r. Mutrone. p. 16. f. Colleagues, r. Confederates, p. 19. f. dispotically, r. despotically. p. 27. f. Chinfi, r. Chiufi. p. 36. f. taking, r. not taking. p. 92. f. Rizastro, r. Ricastro. f. Sluira & lifenza, r. Terra nuova & Cosenza. p. 99. f. nuovo, r. uovo. p. 114. f. Mesiano, r. Marciano. p. 119. f. this Memorial, r. this Reinforcement. p. 145. f. Gugliena, r. Guglielma. p. 158. f. them, r. them than by. p. 161. f. the first, r. by the first. p. 167. f. the, r. then. p. 189. f. these Events, r. the Knowledge of these, " &c. was. p. 216. f. Sænese, r. Senese. p. 286. f. Posts, r. Parts. p. 239. f. Pieva, r. Pieve. p. 263. f. I now, r. I know., p. 276. f. Verra, r. Vernia. p. 291. f. and that, r. and not. p. 300. f. Naucleto, r. Nauclero. p. 331. f. Fresco, r. Fiesco. p. 341. f. is, r. its. f. but it, r. yet it. p. 353. f. Pontiff, r. Pontiffs.



